BULLETIN

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THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

MANCHESTER

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1. The use of the Library is restricted to purposes of research and reference, and under no pretence whatever must any Book, Manuscript, or Map be removed from the building.

2. The Library is open to holders of Readers' Tickets daily, as follows: Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Tuesdays and Fridays, from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. Saturdays, from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m.

   The Library will be closed on Sundays, Good Friday to the following Tuesday, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Bank Holidays, and the whole of Whit-week.

3. Persons desirous of being admitted to read in the Library must apply in writing to the Librarian, specifying their profession or business, their place of abode, and the particular purpose for which they seek admission.*

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6. The Tickets of Admission, which are available for twelve months, are not transferable, and must be produced when required.

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12. Other books may be obtained by presenting to the Assistant at the counter one of the printed application slips properly filled up.

* Forms of Application for Reader's Ticket may be had on application to the Librarian.

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16. Conversation, loud talking, and smoking are strictly prohibited in every part of the building.

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18. Readers and visitors to the Library are strictly forbidden to offer any fee or gratuity to any attendant or servant.

19. Any infringement of these Rules will render the privilege of admission liable to forfeiture.

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    (*a*) That it may at any time be suspended by the Librarian.
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21. Complaints about the service of the Library should be made to the Librarian immediately after the occurrence of the cause for complaint, and if written must be signed with the writer's name and address.

22. All communications respecting the use of the Library must be addressed to the Librarian.

HENRY GUPPY.

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ADMISSION OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC AND VISITORS.

The general public are admitted to view the Library on Tuesday and Friday afternoons between the hours of two and six. Visitors to Manchester from a distance, at any other time when the Library is open, will be admitted for the same purpose upon application to the Librarian.

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

EDITED
BY THE
LIBRARIAN

VOL. 9 JANUARY, 1925 No. 1

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

THE twenty-fifth anniversary of the inauguration of the John Rylands Library was commemorated on Monday, the 6th of October, the actual date of the anniversary. THE LIBRARY'S SEMI-JUBILEE.

The occasion was marked by a civic luncheon in the banqueting chamber of the Town Hall, given by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Manchester in honour of the Trustees, Governors, and Officials of the Library, and their principal guests, to the number of nearly four hundred.

The gathering was in every sense a notable one, and as the Bishop of Manchester fitly described it: "an evidence of the closest possible contact between those responsible for civic life and those concerned to advance and disseminate all forms of sound learning."

THE LORD MAYOR (Alderman W. T. Jackson), in proposing the toast of "the Trustees, Governors, and principal Officials of the Library," said that "whilst we are proud of Manchester as an industrial centre, we are also proud of it as a great centre of learning and culture. Other great libraries of the world are the result of a growth, in many cases, of centuries, whereas the Rylands Library has gained a position of eminence in twenty-five years. We are all grateful to Mrs. Rylands, not only for providing a building, which is regarded as one of the finest specimens of Gothic architecture extant, but also for providing an endowment which permitted of such expansion and development as has taken place. It should be borne in mind, however, that this wonderful gift carries with it responsibilities. It is a pity the building cannot be seen to greater advantage. I am sure that neither Mrs. Rylands nor the architect ever contemplated that it should be so obscured for all time. Our Improvements Committee ought immediately to prescribe a new building line round the

whole of the library, and impose a set back of at least a hundred feet, beyond which no future buildings should encroach. To give it a decent setting is the least the Corporation can do in return for one of the finest gifts the city has ever received."

PROFESSOR T. F. TOUT, Professor of History and Director of Advanced Studies in History in the University of Manchester, speaking on behalf of the University, referred to the immense value of the library to students engaged in advanced study and research.

DR. E. A. COWLEY, Librarian of the Bodleian, Oxford, brought the congratulations of his ancient University to the officials of Rylands. "There is a distinct family resemblance," said Dr. Cowley, "between the Bodleian and the Rylands. Both were founded by pious benefactors on a Puritan or Protestant basis, but with a wide and statesmanlike outlook on the cohesion of learning as a whole. Rylands has privileges that the Bodleian has not: in the first place, there is the magnificent endowment, then there is the advantage of being situated in a centre of commerce. The Rylands Library thus has the wise and practical counsel of business men, and in case of need their great resources. It is able to disseminate light and learning in a great centre, where it can be usefully applied. Never has there been more need or the dissemination of sound learning than at the present time, when the world is so much guided by phrases and shibboleths."

"Whenever I go to the Library," continued Dr. Cowley, "the magnificence of the building and its contents fills me with the envy, not of malice, but of aspiring emulation, and I say to myself 'This is how it ought to be done, and this is how it is done here'."

PROFESSOR HENRY DE VOCHT, representing the University of Louvain, added his tribute, and said he was the bearer of the grateful greetings of all who were associated with the great University at Louvain. He referred to the rich quarry of material out of which had been built up the wonderful library in Manchester, which in a few years had taken rank amongst such great libraries as the British Museum and the Vatican. Dr. de Vocht emphasised, in particular, the gratitude felt by Louvain for the gift of books which the Rylands Library had been the means of procuring for the restoration of their devastated library in the following words: "The gift amounts to little short of 50,000 volumes of the choicest, the most

useful, and the most valuable books on every subject. You have supplied not only the foundation but the corner-stone of the renaissance of the Louvain Library, and have done more by far than those who provided the buildings, generous though they have been, because after all, it was the literature and its character which made the library what it was. A roof and four walls and a few shelves are indispensable truly, but it is not the building that the scholar needs, it is the books, and you gave them, you gave the organisation, you gave us the most precious, the most valuable, and by far the most useful books that we possess, or probably ever shall possess.

"The cry during the war was: 'Remember Louvain,' but the old war cry has changed, and it is now: 'Louvain remembers,' and Louvain will remember! Our gratitude to this country is, as a consequence, greater and deeper than to any other nation of the world. We hope," said Professor de Vocht, "that neither your library nor your nation will ever know anything of the disaster which overtook us during the war."

Mr. FRANK PACY, the Honorary Secretary of the Library Association, brought congratulations from his Association, and also supported the toast.

The EARL OF CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES, Chancellor of the University of Manchester, and a Trustee of the John Rylands Library, in responding to the toast spoke of the striking and significant compliment which had been paid to the library. "It is an official recognition by Manchester of the highest learning," said Lord Crawford. "It is a special tribute to advanced learning and scholarship, a tribute not to the library alone, but to the cause of learning all over the world. This day is a notable landmark in the history of the library, for the acknowledgment of its services has been universal and intensely gratifying."

SIR ALFRED HOPKINSON, K.C., one of the Trustees, and a former Chairman of the Council of the John Rylands Library, who also took an active part at the inaugural ceremony in 1899, as Principal of Owens College also responded, and was followed by the Librarian, who speaking on behalf of the Officials gratefully acknowledged the very generous words of appreciation of their services, which had fallen from the lips of one speaker after another. Having occupied the post of Librarian throughout the twenty-five years he was able to

declare that, whatever success the library had achieved was due in the first place, to the foresight of Mrs. Rylands and her advisers, in the second place, to the enlightened administration of the Governors, and finally to the loyal, efficient and untiring service of his staff of colleagues. Never had an official been more loyally or more efficiently supported !

LORD CRAWFORD'S GIFT.

The most interesting event in the day's proceedings was the announcement, made by the Librarian at the conclusion of the foregoing remarks, of the Earl of Crawford's magnificent gift to the Library, of a collection of upwards of 20,000 proclamations, placards, and other broadsides and bulletins, issued in France and other European countries. The collection comprises : 10,000 French proclamations and placards relating to the French Revolution, to the Napoleonic Régime, to the Restoration, and to the Commune of 1871, ranging from 1789 to 1871 ; 200 proclamations relating to the earlier period of French history ranging from 1532 to 1780 ; a set of the "Bulletin de la Convention Nationale," 1792 to 1795 ; about 5,000 Lois et décrets de l'Assemblée Nationale, 1790 to 1795 ; 2,000 proclamations relating to the Netherlands, from 1584 to 1848 ; 1,000 relating to Tuscany, from 1548 to 1793 ; 107 relating to the Venetian Republic, from 1668 to 1797 ; 200 relating to the Neapolitan Revolution of 1848 to 1849 ; and 50 relating to Spain from 1716 to 1843.

In every section there is unexplored material, awaiting the investigations of students interested in the history of the countries, and periods with which these documents deal. It is extremely doubtful, said the Librarian, whether any such collection of the French proclamations and other publications exists outside the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and it is certain that many items in the collection are not to be found even there.

As a result of this gift, the value and importance of which it is impossible to estimate, students from other countries : from France, Belgium, Holland, and Italy will be attracted to Manchester in quest of material dealing with the history of their particular countries, much of which is so rare because of its fugitive character, but which is of great importance by reason of the light which it throws upon the political events of some of the most stirring times in the history of Europe.

The BISHOP OF MANCHESTER (Dr. William Temple) in voicing the thanks of the assembled guests to the Lord Mayor and Corporation for their lavish hospitality, described the gathering as "an evidence of the closest possible contact between those responsible for civic life and those concerned to advance and disseminate all forms of sound learning."

SIR HENRY MIERS, Vice-Chancellor of the University, and Chairman of the Council of the John Rylands Library, spoke to the same resolution; which was responded to by the DEPUTY-MAYOR of Manchester (Councillor Cundiff), and Alderman H. DERWENT SIMPSON, Chairman of the Town Hall Committee, to whom the success of the function was very largely due.

RECEPTION AT THE LIBRARY.

The luncheon was followed by an afternoon reception at the Library, at which some eight hundred guests responded to the invitation extended to them, and were received by the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, on behalf of the Trustees and Governors.

Short speeches were delivered in the course of the afternoon by SIR HENRY MIERS, the Chairman of the Governors, who extended to the guests a very cordial welcome; and by LORD CRAWFORD, who referred to the presence at the celebration of scholars from all parts of the world, and alluded to the fact that Manchester had become a recognised centre of original historical research.

Looking down from the gallery at the array of manuscripts and jewelled book-covers, which had been specially arranged for the occasion, Lord Crawford said: "I see below me gleaming friends and companions of my youth, and I can only rejoice from the bottom of my heart that they should have found a permanent home in this noble institution. Never in the history of libraries has there been a happier marriage than that of the printed books of Lord Spencer, and the manuscripts of my father." Continuing Lord Crawford pointed out that the library received no help from the Treasury or from the rates, and, therefore, great and persistent efforts were necessary to keep it up to its present high standard. The pre-war endowments amply sufficed for pre-war requirements, but in the present conditions it is difficult to continue the full scale of acquisition.

PROFESSOR A. S. PEAKE, Deputy-Chairman of the Council, and

one of the two surviving original governors of the Library, spoke of his long association with the institution as one of the governors appointed by Mrs. Rylands, and of some of the changes which had taken place in the personnel. Mr. Gerard N. Ford, the Honorary Secretary and one of the Trustees, and the Librarian also spoke.

DR. CASARTELLI, the Bishop of Salford, one of the guests, who has taken a great personal interest in the library from its inauguration, recalled a visit paid to the John Rylands Library by a young Italian priest the year after it was opened. That young priest, said the Bishop, was very much impressed with the splendour of the building, the housing of the books, and the general arrangement and order. He became a sub-librarian at Milan, and from time to time made interested enquiries about the work of this Library. That young priest was now Pope of Rome, and the last time I had an audience of him, said Dr. Casartelli, just as I was leaving the room, the Pope said: "When you get back to Manchester don't forget to give my grateful salutations to my old colleague Dr. Guppy."

A special volume has been issued by the Library in connection with the semi-jubilee commemoration, under the title: "The John Rylands Library, Manchester; 1899-1924. A record of its history with brief descriptions of the building and its contents. Illustrated with sixty-two views and facsimiles." It contains a narrative of the genesis and growth of the library, and of its collections, with information regarding the policy of administration which has resulted in the creation of what may be described as an admirable laboratory for historical and literary investigation.

HISTORY OF THE J.R.L. 1899-1924.

The volume is illustrated with a number of views of the building, and of facsimiles of pages of some of the most noteworthy of the printed books and manuscripts, which have helped to make the library famous. A number of these are reproduced for the first time in this volume, notably several printed books of which no other copies are known to exist.

The price of the volume is half a crown net (postage sixpence). Copies may be obtained on application to the librarian, or from the library's regular agents.

The anniversary was further marked by an exhibition in the main library of manuscript and jewelled book-covers, designed to give some indication of the remarkable growth of the library's collections which has taken place during the twenty-five years that have elapsed since its inauguration. The extent of that growth will be gathered from the simple statement that the 70,000 printed books, and less than a hundred manuscripts, with which the library entered upon its career in 1899, have now grown to upwards of 300,000 printed books, and 10,000 manuscripts. Not merely in extent have the collections grown, but also in importance, since the accessions have included many printed books, as well as manuscripts, of such outstanding interest, that they have become a source of attraction to scholars from all parts of the world.

EXHIBITION OF MSS. AND JEWELLED BOOK-COVERS.

The exhibits have been drawn exclusively from the manuscript section, and consist of a selection of the most noteworthy, of the 10,000 codices, rolls, tablets, and jewelled book-covers which figure amongst the accessions referred to.

The exhibits have been arranged in ten cases. In the first we have sought to demonstrate, with actual examples, the principal materials and methods employed from the earliest times for the recording and transmitting of knowledge from one age to another, commencing with the clay tablets, and ending with the vellum codex. The second case is given up to Biblical manuscripts, which range from the 6th to the 16th century. Case 3 illustrates Pre-Caroline and other early scripts, from the 8th to the 12th century. Two cases (4 and 5) are devoted to the English Schools, from the 12th to the 15th century. Two other cases (6 and 7) contain examples of the French, Flemish and other Schools of Illumination, ranging from the 10th to the 16th century. Case 8 is devoted to the Italian School, from the 14th to the 17th century. In Case 9 we have brought together a number of manuscripts of royal provenance, as having been written by or for some royal personage, or, as having belonged to them; for example: the Emperor Otto the Great, Queen Joan of Navarre, Queen Elizabeth, Mary, Queen of Scots, King Charles VII. of France, King Henry VII., and several oriental potentates. Case 10 is given up to the jewelled book-covers in which the library is so rich. The jewels with which they are enriched form a very varied collection including a

number of classical gems. The ivories range from the 6th to the 14th century, and these together with the Limoges enamel plaques, give to the covers a richness which must be seen to be appreciated.

A descriptive catalogue of the exhibition has been printed to which is prefixed by way of introduction a brief survey of the library's collection of manuscripts, with a view of indicating something of its scope and interest. This is followed by some notes describing the characteristic features of the manuscripts of the middle ages in the matter of writing, of illumination, and of the materials employed, to assist those who may not be familiar with the subject to a fuller appreciation of the interest and beauty of their workmanship. References have been included in these notes to such of the exhibits as illustrate the particular features to which allusion is made.

The volume is illustrated with seventeen facsimiles, and is published at one shilling net (postage three pence). Copies may be obtained from the Librarian, or from the regular agents.

DEATH OF BISHOP CASARTELLI.

As we go to press we learn with profound regret of the death of Dr. Louis Charles Casartelli, Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford, which took place on Sunday the 18th of January, in his seventy-third year.

Dr. Casartelli had been a firm and greatly esteemed friend of the Library, and of its librarian, ever since the time of its inauguration, and took a great personal interest in its welfare, down to within a few weeks of his death. Indeed, one of his last appearances in public, was at the Library, on the occasion of the semi-jubilee celebration, when he took part in the proceedings, as is reported on another page.

His death inflicts a grievous loss not only on religious, intellectual, and civic Manchester, but upon the whole world of scholarship.

Louis Charles Casartelli was born at Cheetham Hill, Manchester, in 1852. His father came to England from Como, in Italy, and founded the business of an optician in this northern metropolis. Louis Charles was the eldest of six children, and early developed great powers of mind. He was educated at the Salford Catholic Grammar School, whence he proceeded to Ushaw, where he followed a brilliant course and graduated M.A. at the University of London, taking the Gold Medal for Classics. He then passed to the University of Louvain, where he took up oriental languages, which he is said to have suddenly fancied through casually reading in the Manchester Public Library a

copy of Adelung's "Mithridates." Later his studies at Louvain were crowned by the conferment of the rare and coveted degree of Doctor of Oriental Literature.

Having been ordained to the priesthood he was appointed to teach in St. Bede's College, where he remained for eight years. Returning to Louvain he threw himself into the study of Sanskrit, Zend, and Pehlevi. His thesis for the doctorat was a profound study of Zoroastrianism in the early Christian centuries, under the title: "La Philosophie du Mazdéisme sous les Sassanides," which is still regarded as the principal authority upon the subject.

In 1891 Dr. Casartelli became Rector of St. Bede's College, which had been developed out of the old Salford Grammar School. He became Professor of Zend and Pehlevi at Louvain, and Lecturer in Iranian Languages in the University of Manchester, and in 1913 was consecrated Bishop of Salford, much to his regret, for he realised that the administration of a great diocese such as Salford, would prevent him from following up the studies he so much loved. Like his friend the present Pope, who is the first librarian to be raised to the papal throne, he would have been perfectly content to be allowed to remain amongst his books and manuscripts, but both were called from the world of books, into the world of men.

In spite of his vast learning, Dr. Casartelli remained not only very human but very modest. There was nothing of the pedant about him. He was ever the humble dispenser of his learning to those who were interested, and who came to him for help and guidance. Whether school-boy, professor, or struggling scholar he was ever ready to smooth their pathway to the desired goal. He was quite as interested in character and personality as in erudition, and was beloved by all who came into contact with him.

A long list of learned publications stands to his credit. He entered into the intellectual life of the city which had been the centre of the active part of his life. He was the founder of the Dante Society in 1906, President of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, and of the Manchester Statistical Society. For thirteen years he was a member of the Court of the University, and in 1909 at the Jubilee of Louvain University he represented the Universities of Manchester and London, and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

TABARI'S APOLOGY FOR ISLAM.

In July last an open letter of sixteen printed pages was addressed to "Monsieur le Directeur de la John Rylands Library," by le Père Maurice Bouyges, S.J., of the Université S. Joseph, Beyrouth, in which the writer raises the question of the authenticity of Tabari's "Apology or Defence of Islam," the Arabic text, and an English translation of which, under the title: "The Book of Religion and Empire: a semi-official defence and exposition of Islam written by order at the Court and with the assistance of the Caliph Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-861)" was published by Dr. A. Mingana, under the auspices of the John Rylands Library, from the manuscript which is in its possession.

In response to the demand of Father Bouyges, that I should cause the manuscript to be more minutely examined by Dr. Mingana, and, in case of need by other scholars, it is only necessary for me to say that already the manuscript has been submitted to all the tests recognised by exact scholarship, and that there remains nota shadow of doubt as to its authenticity in the minds of any of those who have been responsible for its publication.

Furthermore, the manuscript has been seen and examined by the following scholars: Professor D. S. Margoliouth of Oxford, Professor A. Nicholson of Cambridge, Dr. Rendel Harris, and Mr. F. Krenkow. By a deputation of six Indian Muslim Journalists; by a research student from Azhar University of Cairo, and by two other Egyptian scholars. By the Shaikh 'Abd al-Karim-Murād of Fez, who spent two days in Manchester for the special purpose of examining the manuscript; and by other Christians and Muslims, all of whom are perfectly satisfied as to its authenticity.

The manuscript may be seen in the library by any scholar wishing to examine it, under the necessary safeguards, and we venture to suggest to Father Bouyges that he would have been better advised, to have examined the manuscript for himself, or to have requested some member of the Society of Jesus in or near Manchester to make the examination for him, before venturing to question the authenticity of a text, which has been accepted as undeniably authentic both from external and internal evidence.

Elsewhere in the present issue we print some additional notes from the pen of Dr. Mingana, in which he makes further appeal to the internal evidence of the text in proof of its authenticity.

A very important Syriac manuscript has recently been deposited in the Library for purposes of investigation, in which are found portions of a previously unknown translation of the Ḳur'ān into Old Syriac.

A VARIANT TEXT OF THE KUR'ĀN.

Facsimile reproductions of the pages containing this unknown translation, accompanied by a translation into English, and a full critical apparatus by Dr. Mingana, are included in the present issue.

More than two-thirds of the important Sūrahs of the Ḳur'ān are involved in this translation, which is of the utmost importance for the following reasons :

1°. That it contains some new verses of the sacred text of Islam, which are not found in the standard text which has been in use by Muslims for many generations. Some of these verses have been traced by Dr. Mingana in the works of Muslim traditionists, as having been actually uttered by the Prophet, whilst some of them cannot be accounted for, and are unrecorded even by the numerous compilers of Islamic tradition.

2°. Even in the verses that are actually in the Ḳur'ān of to-day the Syriac translation offers a considerable number of variants. Some of these variants are shown by Dr. Mingana to have arisen from an Arabic text similar to the one we possess, and others seem to be completely foreign to it : In this last category important theological verses are involved, such as : iv., 169 ; xvi., 104 ; and even verse 139 of Sūrah ii., which deals with no less important a subject than that of the Ḳiblah, or the direction of prayer towards Mecca.

Furthermore, the Kur'ān is shown to have been standardised in the form in which we now know it, not by the third Caliph Othman, as has been universally believed hitherto, but more than forty years later by Hajjaj, the powerful lieutenant of the Umayyad Caliph Abdul Malik. Many authors, both Christian and Muslim, are quoted by Dr. Mingana in support of this view.

Since the publication of our last issue we have dispatched to Louvain thirty-nine cases of books, containing 4534 volumes, which carries the total number of volumes already transmitted to the new library under the scheme of reconstruction inaugurated here in Manchester, to the substantial figure

LOUVAIN LIBRARY RESTORATION.

of 49,005. We are still hopeful of completing the round figure of 50,000 volumes.

400th ANNIVERSARY OF TINDALE'S NEW TEST.

The present year marks the four hundredth anniversary of the publication of William Tindale's translation of the New Testament, which was produced "in exile," on the continent, towards the end of 1525. It was the first English Testament to be printed, and the first English translation of the New Testament to be made from the original Greek, the issue of which was an event of the utmost importance in the history of our country.

The English Bible with which we are so familiar, is, in its form and substance, the work of Tindale, for he more than any other man, has left upon its pages the impress of his individuality and scholarship.

No better testimony to the value of Tindale's work can pe advanced, than that contained in the manifesto of the revisers of 1881, where it is admitted that the new version is still to all intents and purposes Tindale's version, and that it is to him we owe many of the beautifully felicitous phrases with which our Bible abounds. At least eighty per cent. of the words of the Revised Version of the New Testament stand as they stood in Tindale's revision of 1534!

Considered as a literary undertaking Tindale's work marks an epoch in the literary history of our country. As a master of English prose Tindale stands unrivalled. We constantly speak of what Shakespeare did for our language, unmindful of the fact that nearly a century before Shakespeare's day, at a time when our language was still unformed, when as yet no attempt had been made to make it the vehicle of any great literary undertaking, Tindale proved to the world that its capacity was unbounded, that it was possible to express the highest truths in the clearest manner with simplicity and grace, thus exercising a permanent influence of a most beneficial kind over the literary taste of the English-speaking people.

We propose to commemorate this anniversary by arranging an exhibition, in the main library, to illustrate the history of the transmission of the Bible from the earliest times to our own day, in which, of course, William Tindale's work will be the centre of interest. We shall also print an illustrated descriptive catalogue, similar to the one

we issued in 1911, on the occasion of the Tercentenary of the Authorised Version of 1611.

Of Tindale's first New Testament two editions were printed in 1525. The first in quarto was printed by Peter Quentel at Cologne, but apparently was never completed. Of this only one fragment of thirty-one leaves is known to have survived, and that is preserved in the British Museum. Of the second edition, in octavo, which was printed at Worms, only two copies, both of which are imperfect, have come down to us. The most complete of the two is preserved in the Baptist College at Bristol, whilst the other is in the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

ACCESIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The additions to the shelves of the library during the year 1924, number 4851 volumes, of which 4221 have been obtained by purchase, and 630 by gift.

We mention a few of the titles, taken almost at random, of the works obtained since the publication of our last issue, as an indication of the character of the additions which are constantly being made in the various departments, with a view to increasing their efficiency.

ART AND BIBLIOGRAPHY : Symonds (M.) and Preece (L.), "Needlework in religion : an introductory study to its inner meaning . . . and practical guide to the construction and decoration of vestments, etc.," 8vo ; Martin (H.), Blum (A.) and others, "Le livre français des origines à la fin du Second Empire," 4to ; Bossert (H. T.), "Altkreta : Kunst und Handwerk in Griechenland, Kreta, und auf den Kykladen während der Bronzezeit," 4to ; Weil (E.), "Die deutschen Druckerzeichen des XV Jahrhunderts," 4to ; Mulliner (H. H.), "The decorative arts in England, 1660-1780," Fol. ; Courboin (F.), "Histoire illustrée de la Gravure en France," 4 vols., Fol. ; Leipnik (F. L.), "A history of French etching from the 16th century to the present day," Fol. ; Geisberg (Max), "Die Kupferstiche des Meisters E. S.," Fol. ; Koop (A. J.), "Early Chinese Bronzes," Fol. ; Bossert (H. T.), "Ornament : two thousand decorative motifs in colour forming a survey of the applied art of all ages and all countries," Fol. : Jéquier (G.), "L'architecture et la decoration dans l'ancienne Egypte, 3 : Les temples ptolémaiques et romaine," Fol. ; Chace (G. H.), "Greek and Roman Sculpture in American collec-

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HISTORY, ARCHÆOLOGY, ETC. : "Publication of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis," vol. 1, 1910-14, Fol. ; Lapauze (H.), "Histoire de l'Académie de France à Rome, 1666-1910," 2 vols., 8vo ; Burtchaell (G. D.) and Sadleir (T. N.), "Alumni Dublinenses : a register of the students, graduates, professors, and provosts of Trinity College, Dublin" ; Baluzius (S.), "Miscellanea novo ordine digesta . . . opera ac studio J. D. Mansi," 1761, 4 vols., Fol. ; Acavedo (E.), "Historia del Uruguay," *Montevideo*, 1916-18, 3 vols., 8vo ; Moller (W. C.), "A Knight's life in the days of chivalry," 8vo ; Sathyanatha Aiyar (R.), "History of the Nayaks of Madura," 8vo ; "Jerusalem, 1920-22 : being the records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the first two years of the Civil Administration, Edited by C. R. Ashbee" ; Battye (J. S.), "Western Australia : a history from its discovery to the inauguration of the Commonwealth," 8vo ; "Harvard Excavations at Samaria" by G. A. Reisner, O. S. Fisher, and D. G. Lyon, 2 vols., Fol. ; Arnold (Sir Thomas), "The Caliphate," 8vo ; Smith (G. E.) and Dawson (W. R.), "Egyptian Mummies," 4to ; Paz (L.), "Historia general del alto Péru hoy Bolivia," 2 vols., 8vo ; Gori (A. F.), "Museum etruscum exhibens insignia veterum etruscorum monumenta," *Florence*, 1777, 3 vols., Fol. ; Hodgson (J. G.), "The history of the antiquities of Great Britain from the earliest times to the latter half of the

19th century," 4to; Genouillac (H. de), "Premières recherches archéologiques à Kich," tome 1er, 4to; "Debates of the House of Commons from 1667 to 1694," collected by Anchitell Grey, *London*, 1769, 10 vols., 8vo; "A Collection of the Parliamentary Debates in England from the year 1668 to 1741," *London*, 1741-42, 21 vols., 8vo; Roo (Peter de), "Material for a history of Pope Alexander VI, his relatives and his time," 5 vols., 8vo; Patrick (F. D. J.), "Sasanian coins," Fol.; Driault (S.), et Lheretier (M.), "Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce depuis 1821, jusquà nos jours," 5 vols., 8vo; "Transcripts of Proceedings relating to Baronies by Writ (House of Lords)," typewritten, 3 vols., 4to.

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The gifts to the library during last year, as already stated, numbered 630 volumes, amongst which were many works it would have been difficult, and in some cases impossible to obtain through the ordinary channels of supply. Notably : 63 volumes of the publications of the Swedenborg Society, towards the completion of our sets ; from the University of California 67 volumes of their available publications ; from Miss Barlow "The Art of Old Peru," by W. Lehmann ; from Sir Lees Knowles, Bart., a further collection of Parliamentary Reports, Reports of the Board of Trade, Board of Education, etc. ; and from Sir William Vaudrey, a collection of deeds, indentures, etc., relating to lands in Lancashire, ranging from the 14th to the 19th century.

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A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF SHAKESPEARE'S INFLUENCE ON THE CONTINENT.[1]

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SUMMARY.

Introduction; Shakespeare's Influence on the continent a part of the history of European civilization. § 1. Regional limits. Outstanding importance of France, Germany, Russia. Limit of date. Virtual beginning 1730. Traces of Shakespeare on the continent in the seventeenth century. Latin Europe. Scandinavia. Differentiation produced by different national conditions. And by the varying appeal of different aspects of Shakespeare's work, p. 21. § 2. The intellectual movement of Europe between 1700-1830. The reaction from 'reason' to 'imagination': symptoms of the change in philosophy, criticism, poetry; the discovery of Shakespeare stimulates and accelerates this movement. Three phases of his influence, bearing on the recovery of the Past, the 'renascence of wonder,' the creation of character, p. 27. § 3. History: Shakespeare's Histories. Germany, Goethe: *Goëtz von Berlichingen*, *Egmont*; Schiller: *Wallenstein*, p. 30. § 4. Russia. Pushkin; *Boris Godunov*, p. 35. § 5. France, Restoration period. Historians and Romantic poets. Vitet, Mérimée. Hugo, p. 37. § 6. 'Renascence of Wonder.' Different fortunes of the supernaturalism of the Tragedies and of the Comedies. Herder, the German Romantics, their insight into Shakespeare's language, and into his folklore. The science of folklore. Their interpretation of Shakespeare, p. 40. § 7. French Romanticism. Musset's Comedies, p. 46. § 8. Character creation. Germany. Personality in German culture, poetry and philosophy. In 'Sturm und Drang.' Schiller and Goethe. Character as Fate, the tragic point of view. *Macbeth* and *Wallenstein*. *Hamlet* and *Werther*. Hamlet in Russia. Bjelinski; Turgenjev, p. 49. § 9. Shakespearean Character in the Romantics, German and French, p. 58. § 10. Conclusion, p. 60.

> 'Les influences étrangères, à qui l'on fait
> une gloire ou un crime, suivant les points de vue,
> de "libérer" ou de "dévoyer" une littérature,
> n'agissent jamais que dans une direction
> conforme aux tendances de celle-ci. Elles nous
> informent de nous, et, selon le mot de Pascal,
> "elles nous font part de notre bien".'
>
> Baldensperger, *Goethe en France*, p. 3.

THE history of Shakespeare's influence on the continent has long been recognized as something of far larger import than a record of the successes, however phenomenal, of an English-writer, however great. It is part of the history of Europe, of the history

[1] An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, on Wednesday, 12 March, 1924.

of civilization, of the history of the processes by which the entire complex of modern beliefs and ideals were evolved ; processes in which the work of Shakespeare was not merely an accompanying circumstance but a contributing factor. So intimately did this unexhausted leaven of far-off Elizabethan imagination blend with the currents of thought and passion in the spiritual centres of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century that a history of the relations of Shakespeare with the German mind has become scarcely distinguishable from a history, during this period, of the German mind itself ; while a survey of the phases of French opinion about Shakespeare only becomes completely intelligible in the light of the larger transformations of the society and literature of France.[1] [2] In a less degree the influence of Shakespeare was a factor in the nineteenth-century evolution of the culture of Russia.

I.

The history of Shakespeare on the continent is, in substance, the history of the interpretations he underwent and the reactions he awakened, in the mind of the three great but profoundly diverse peoples who occupy its central belt between the Bay of Biscay and the Urals. The Latin peoples of the South of Europe have taken their Shakespeare from France, the Dutch and Scandinavian North, and Poland, from France and Germany ; the Slavonic South-east from Russia. And in these derivative regions the reactions have been on the whole tardy and slight. No Spaniard read even a single play in his own tongue before 1772, when Cruz translated *Hamlet*—from

[1] Gundolf, *Jh. und der deutsche Geist*, 1917 ; Baldensperger, *Esquisse d'une Histoire de Shakespeare en France*. Both these brilliant and penetrating studies have been of great value to the present essay. Lirondelle's slighter, '*Shakespeare en Russie*' has also been of use. Prof. Robertson's account of 'Shakespeare on the Continent' in *Camb. Lit. Hist.*, Vol. V., p. 283 f. gives an admirable orientation of the whole field. I may call attention also to the monograph 'Shakespeare in Poland,' the first of a series of similar studies for other countries, recently issued by the Shakespeare Association.

[2] The following sentence of M. Baldensperger, *u.s.*, p. 215, well illustrates this fact : 'les seules époques qui ont vu applaudir avec persistance des pièces offrant . . . la désinvolture du répertoire shakesperien—l'âge de 1795-1805 avec le mélodrame, la période 1826-1835 avec le drame romantique—sont celles qui recrutent parmi des couches sociales nouvelles une importante portion du public.'

the French.[1] And no Italian is known to have mentioned him in print till Antonio Conti, who had lived two years in the England of George I. without learning how to spell his name, described the *Julius Cæsar* of 'Sasper' in the preface to his own *Il Cesare*, 1726.[2] In the Scandinavian North the Germanic poet won a far more spontaneous and sustained renown. But the author of the most conspicuous Scandinavian book on Shakespeare was a disciple of Taine; and the great dramatist who alone in the nineteenth century produced work comparable with Shakespeare, owed little to him.[3]

The history of his influence begins in France in the early thirties of the eighteenth century. The few traces of Shakespeare on the continent before 1730 are derived from one or other of two thin trickles of information, of quite distinct origin, which probably never met. Companies of 'English Comedians' acted several of his plays in Germany, Holland, and elsewhere, up to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Directly or indirectly, parts of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Taming of the Shrew* were imitated in one or both these countries before the end of the seventeenth century.[4] The first known mention of Shakespeare's name in print, in a German educational work, 1682, probably reflects this German current. Under wholly different circumstances Shakespeare's name percolated into France in the middle years of that century. The English courtiers who fled there in 1642 did not forget the shows at Whitehall. If they did not bring with them the copy of the First Folio which found its way into the King's Library, and on which his librarian wrote the first known critical judgment upon Shakespeare, they assuredly carried in their pockets many of those quartos of the separate plays which a Paris inventory later priced for sale at one sou each.[5] Towards the end of the century, the French immigrations into England and Holland after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and then the essays of Collier, Temple, and Addison, slowly diffused the knowledge of his

[1] Fitzmaurice Kelly, *Hist. de la Litt. Espagnole*, p. 399.
[2] Robertson, *Genesis of Romantic Theory*, p. 96 f.
[3] Ibsen's *Kongsemnerne* is referred to below, § IV.
[4] Robertson, *Shakespeare on the Continent*, Camb. Lit. Hist., V. 284 f.
[5] Baldensperger, *u.s.*, p. 156. This fact tells us more about the 'reputation' of Shakespeare under Louis XIV. than the judgment which we owe to Nicholas Clément's erudite curiosity.

name, which was still however "Sasper" for Bodmer as well as for Conti.

The history, then, of Shakespeare in European culture dates from the second generation of the eighteenth century only. Voltaire's dealings with the 'barbarian of genius' began with his *Mort de Brutus* (1730), and the memorable eighteenth chapter of his *Lettres sur les Anglais* (1734) secured to Shakespeare thenceforth the respect, if not as yet the homage, of cultivated Europe.

His subsequent fortunes in the several countries were sharply differentiated by the diversities of race, nationality, and historic culture which conditioned his reception and his power. In Latin Europe outside France, he has won on the whole, as already noticed, only the homage of a distant and barren admiration.

In France, where a brilliant native gift for the theatre was associated, until far on in the nineteenth century, with a rigid and despotic theatrical technique, the discovery of a dramatist who irresistibly appealed to the one and completely traversed the other, excited from the first a sharp division of opinion. Voltaire, himself a man of letters of the first order, who brought to the 'rules' a loyalty he gave to nothing else in the world, was drawn both ways, and his violently fluctuating pronouncements may almost all be described as variations on a single paradoxical formula, of which now one and now the other element was emphasized. His description of Shakespeare in the *Lettres sur les Anglais*,[1] as 'a genius full of force and fecundity but without the least spark of good taste,' offered a loose and illogical compromise which qualified it to become, as it did, the orthodox doctrine of the average French public. But from the outset there were Frenchmen who hailed the 'genius' of Shakespeare, with at most a formal recognition of his 'incorrectness.' Addison's essays in the *Spectator* carried English Shakespeare criticism by way of Holland all over the continent. The abbé Prévost, who had lived in England, 'knew nothing in Greek or French superior to *Hamlet* and several other English plays.'[2] Voltaire himself was at first carried away by the power of Shakespeare on the London stage, and he could even deride French tragedy as 'usually a series of conversations in five acts, with a love-intrigue,' whereas English is 'a genuine action.'[3]

[1] 1734, Lettre xviii. [2] Quoted Baldensperger, *u.s.*, p. 159.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 161, from the *Essai sur la poésie epique*, 1727.

Julius Cæsar powerfully impressed him as a tragedy without the 'gallantry' which Corneille had never failed to introduce.[1] He 'preferred this monstrous spectacle to the long confidences of cold love, and still colder political reasoning.' But after his return to France, the prestige of the national art resumed its sway over the great emancipator, and his own Shakesperean borrowings were futile efforts to enrich its substance without surrendering its form. For a generation after the 'Philosophical Letters,' the two contending currents of opinion agitated literary France. From the 'seventies onward, the vogue of Shakespeare, powerfully promoted by the essays of Sébastien Mercier (1773-1778), and the translations of Letourneur (1776), rapidly gained ground, and the violent diatribes of Voltaire's reactionary old age were impotent to arrest it. With the dawn of the new century Chateaubriand and Mme de Stael heralded the advent of Romanticism, and under the aegis of Hugo, Shakespeare enjoyed in the city of Racine a magnificent but unstable triumph. With the passing of Romanticism, towards 1850, Shakespeare virtually disappeared from the French stage, but found increasing response from the quick and fertile imagination of France in other regions of art.

In striking contrast with this checkered story of contending enthusiasms and inhibitions is the history of Shakespeare in Germany. Though twenty years behind France in effectually discovering him,[2] when she did discover him it was with the rapture of a captive welcoming a liberator, or, as Goethe said, of one born blind who has suddenly received his sight. From Lessing's defiant challenge, in 1759, to French classicism and its German disciples, onward, we have to do, not with the successive phases of a prolonged conflict between enthusiasts and sceptics, but with different ways of interpreting the splendour of the new planet which has swum into German ken. The word 'genius,' universally called into use, no longer means rude untutored power, devoid of taste. If Lessing saw in it a sublime faculty of reason, and Gerstenberg a brilliant sensuous visualizing power, and Herder elemental insight and passion, they all found the consummate example of what they meant in Shakespeare. From Schiller and the great Schlegel-Tieck translation onwards, he became

[1] Preface to *La Mort de Jules César*.

[2] She was the first to translate a play of Shakespeare, Borck's *Der Tod des Julius Cæsar*, 1741. But this had no sequel for several years.

an integral possession of the German people, a living portion, it is scarcely too much to say, of the German mind.

Russia, finally, with a no less powerful individuality of her own, but dominated throughout the eighteenth century first by French and then by German prestige, found in Shakespeare, at length, an instrument of emancipation from both. Her powerful concrete imagination, destined to such magnificent achievement in the Novel, rose finally in peremptory revolt against the abstractions alike of French classicism and of German metaphysics ;[1] insisting that characters in drama ought to be neither ideal types nor symbols of ideas, but individuals, as they were in Shakespeare. But this emancipation can hardly be dated before 1820. Throughout the eighteenth century Shakespeare was abundantly translated, paraphrased and discussed, he was imitated by the empress Catherine, and lovingly studied by the historian Karamzine. It was only with the advent of Pushkin and Lermontov and Alexis Tolstoy that Shakespeare could fledge the wings of a man of genius.[2]

But it is necessary to discriminate further. Shakespeare's vogue not only followed very divergent curves in these different national communities, it attached itself, at different times, in the history of the same community, to different parts of Shakespeare's work. At the outset mere fragments of him were known, and when the whole, in very faulty translations,[3] became at length accessible, the inherent diversities of its different parts in quality of appeal at once asserted themselves. The great situations of the Tragedies were the monumental facade of the immortal edifice, uniformly conspicuous everywhere and at all times ; the English Histories, the romantic comedies, the fairy dramas, were its opals, or its casements, now obscure and

[1] 'The French, wrote Bjelinski in 1838, think that the ideal is a collection of traits of a single idea scattered throughout nature. . . . Shakespeare is the absolute contrary of this pitiful theory.' Bjelinski, *Hamlet, drama Šekspira . . . Works*, I., 185.

[2] Pushkin, in 1826, was overheard by a friend abusing German critics who saw 'le diable sait quoi dans Shakespeare, alors que celui-ci dit simplement, sans finesses, sans s'embarrasser de théories, ce qu'il a sur le cœur, en moujik (peasant) de génie.' Quoted Lirondelle, *u.s.*, p. 146.

[3] In French, La Place (1745), a partial translation of ten plays, with abstracts of the rest; in German, Wieland's in prose (1762-1766). In Russian, only *Hamlet* and *Othello* had been translated, in prose, before the end of the eighteenth century,

unnoticed, now, with some change in the light or in the spectator's point of view, appearing to be the very focus of its splendour.

Even his own country and his own age had not responded equally to all the many moods of his art. The wayward loveliness of *Cymbeline* did not prevent its speedy and complete neglect; *Henry IV.* was known as the comedy of Falstaff; and Caliban and Bottom probably did more for the success of their plays than Prospero or the Fairies. Nevertheless, Shakespeare's Elizabethan audiences showed a relative catholicity in their apprehension of his poetry which has never been equalled since. In the eighteenth century, until we near its closing decades, the robust and versatile Elizabethan joy in poetry was nowhere to be found in civilized Europe. Poetry itself was a shy elusive spirit, faintly piping from the fields and hills to a Brockes or a Dyer, or from the fairy tale to a Perrault. The Elizabethan discriminations had now become peremptory yeas and nays. The enormous story interest of *Hamlet* or *Richard III.* could overcome the inertia of the most prosaic audience; but the romantic comedies only lived where, as in England, they could command the services of a series of great actresses. For Voltaire, the pioneer, Shakespeare was the author of *Hamlet*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Othello*, and a few of the Histories. He had doubtless seen one or more of the Comedies in London; but it is Wycherley and Congreve, not Shakespeare, who in the 'Letters on the English,' stand for English Comedy. And throughout the French eighteenth century it is the tragic Shakespeare who is admired and derided, and Corneille and Racine, not Molière, with whom he is measured. The Histories early excited interest; but it was only with the generation of Hugo, Mérimée, and Musset, that the Histories and the Comedies won a vogue in France, and then their fecundating power was felt less in the theatre than among the historians and the poets. The more precocious Shakespeare-worship of Germany was equally far from Shakesperean catholicity. Lessing like Voltaire measured him only with Corneille, and his judgement was probably grounded on even slenderer knowledge, and (to judge from his own plays) an intellectual sympathy not greatly superior. The English Histories and *Julius Cæsar* inspired the first attempts to dramatise the German past; the great tragedies kindled the imagination of Herder, but in virtue of those very glimpses into the sombre and awful mythology of the north which had from the

first imperilled their vogue in France. Finally came the German Romantics declaring the faery dramas to be the real Shakespeare, the key to all the rest, and out of their fruitful illusions grew the German science of folklore.

In Russia the vital history of Shakespeare is almost exclusively concerned with the great tragedies, and the Histories which most approach tragedy in character.

II.

A mere list of the names of the men who figure in the European discovery of Shakespeare would indicate that we have to do with issues more far reaching than the comparative valuation of a foreign poet. It was not of their attitude to Shakespeare that Carlyle was thinking when in the person of Teufelsdröckh he invited his respected Herr von Voltaire to close his mouth, 'for the work appointed thee seems finished,' and summoned his readers to open their Goethe, and learn there the saving wisdom of life. Nor was it in dramatic matters at all that Goethe himself (who put Voltaire's *Mahomet* on the Weimar stage) most clearly betrayed the spiritual gulf which separated them, but rather when he was denouncing the Newtonian physics (first expounded to the continent by the pioneer of Shakespeare) and rapturously hailing the evolutionary doctrines of Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire. The four generations from 1700 to 1830 witnessed fundamental modifications of the mentality of civilized Europe, as reflected alike in its articulate thought, and in its literary creations. If we disregard the qualifications necessary for complete accuracy, we may say that these four generations witnessed a progressive decline of the rationalism which in the seventeenth century had won so many triumphs, and had been most clearly formulated and most persuasively promulgated by René Descartes. They witnessed also, in consequence, a gradual transfer of the authority of mind working on the lines and within the limits of reason to mind working creatively through imagination. The process was complex and many-sided; some phase or aspect of it may be traced in every field of eighteenth-century thought. To pass from the opening to the close of that period is to pass, in political theory, from the atomism of Locke to the organic thinking of Burke; in the scientific interpretation of Nature, from the triumphant mechanism of Newton to the triumphant

biology of Lamarck; in poetic criticism, from the fixed standards and absolute rules of Boileau and Pope, to the relativity of Goethe and Carlyle. All these transitions meant the advance from a more abstract and logical to a more complex and concrete apprehension of reality. The Cartesian dogma that the same uniform undifferentiated reason exists in all men in all ages was undermined by the growing knowledge of the past and the discovery that mind, like man, has a history. The dogma that what reason clearly and distinctly perceives is alone true was similarly discredited by the discovery that even profounder truth may be reached through the irrational 'logic of imagination.' All these transitions meant, again, an approximation to the temper of poetry. Goethe, so futile in physics, was a discoverer in comparative anatomy; while the marvel of the germination and growth of living beings in its turn fortified the disposition to emphasize the spontaneous and 'natural,' against the 'artificial,' aspects of poetry.

At the close of the first generation (1730) all these forms of the anti-Cartesian reactions were only incipient. But in one department, that which most nearly concerns us here, the theoretic groundwork had already been effectually laid. Muratori and Vico had decisively rebutted the claim of rationalism in poetry, and vindicated the imagination as the master-faculty of the poet.[1] Addison, contributing to a critical movement of which he did not suspect the scope, wrote agreeably of 'Imagination' for the breakfast-tables of Queen Anne's London. But in neither country, nor as yet in Germany, far less in the home of Descartes and Boileau, had there arisen, beside the brilliant or profound exponents of what imagination might be, a great poet who could make manifest what it was.

It was into the midst of these manifold gropings, along many avenues of theory and practice, towards imaginative vision, and the fuller apprehension of reality which it promised, that there broke the apparition of the most consummate achievement of imagination in the literature of the world. Shakespeare stood there, supreme in the kind of power which Romanticism was fundamentally an effort to recover.

[1] Vico's claims have long since been established by Croce. But the importance of the other Italian precursors of Romanticism has been first shown, with admirable learning and critical lucidity, by Prof. J. G. Robertson in *The Genesis of Romantic Theory*, 1924.

Where, as in Germany, the prestige of the classicist drama and its 'rules' was most oppressive because least consonant with the national genius, he was hailed as a liberator. But the release from the despotism of dramatic conventions for which the Shakesperean drama provides a precedent, was only the external aspect of his vitalizing power. It was the immensely enriched and deepened experience which he had reflected in drama which demanded a revolution in dramatic technique. His influence was thus never merely negative and anarchic. It was seminal and constructive. It concurred and co-operated with forces already in operation. Again and again he precipitated changes which less potent influences were slowly preparing, turned theoretic persuasion into ardent faith, and threw wide open gates of enchanted regions which faltering hands were knocking at, or timidly setting ajar. The 'rules' were obnoxious not because they hampered the convenience of playmaking but because they conflicted with the larger and richer vision of reality which his drama gave. Shakespeare was not learned; but he had the kind of imagination which not merely dreams like truth but anticipates knowledge. Without any 'historic sense,' he had left superb presentations of history; without a touch of mysticism he had painted men's demeanour under the sway of supernatural beliefs. And he had created an imaginary humanity which enlarges, deepens, or foreshadows the humanity of experience.

It was especially in virtue of these three qualities, and along the lines of influence they indicate, that the example of the Shakesperean drama during the critical epoch of European evolution upon the literatures of the continent in which Shakespeare was a power at all. The close of that epoch opens a new chapter in that evolution. By 1850, Romanticism, which Shakespeare had everywhere furthered and accelerated, was no longer a living force. But Shakespeare's influence suffered no attenuation. The antagonists of Romance came to him with different demands, applied other tests, and found him, as the Romantics had found, a master of their own lore. The Hegelian Shakespereans of Germany discovered profound and subtle metaphysic in his plays; the French creators of the realist Novel discovered the profound psychology which underlay his soaring imagination.

But at that later chapter we can at this stage only glance. I proceed to sketch the Shakesperean contribution to the evolution of

Romanticism, in the three fields described; and first, through his brilliant and, for the continent outside Spain, unexampled, dramas of national history.

III.

Only a few Elizabethans—a Bacon, a Hooker, a Camden, a Stow—knew something of the temper of history, and Shakespeare, though he wrote some of the greatest of historical plays, was not their disciple. He freely rehandled the matter he used, introduced unhistorical persons, or brought those whom the chronicle provided into unhistorical combinations. He did not ransack his sources to reproduce the 'atmosphere' of a distant age, or the local colour of a foreign scene. Nevertheless, the fervour of his patriotic imagination created out of the chronicles of the English fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a semblance of history so splendid, so living, and in its main lines so true, that it everywhere roused the impulse to recover the national past, and became a factor by no means negligible even in the nineteenth-century renascence of historic study.

Historical plays in the Elizabethan sense lay wholly outside all the traditions of French classicism. Even the arrogant national self-consciousness of the reign of the Grand Monarque had never been flattered by the spectacle of the victories of Vauban or Turenne on the Paris stage. No one had dramatized the French side of Agincourt, or disengaged from calumny and legend the incomparable story of Joan of Arc. But at the moment when Voltaire announced his discovery of the barbarian of genius beyond the Channel, this with many other traditional taboos of the French stage was beginning to relax its hold. The sacrosanct demarcations of dramatic kinds began to be infringed; and the hybrid species were often employed on unprecedented subjects. In 1731 appeared a 'heroic comedy' on the story of the Chevalier Bayard; in 1735, a prose tragedy on that of 'Thomas Morus.'[1] The example of Shakespeare powerfully encouraged these faint beginnings, and its contagion sometimes affected technique as well as subject. In 1740 a dagger was used on the stage, and with loud applause, in Gresset's *Edouard III*.[2] Two years later, the Abbé Yart yet more unequivocally invoked Shakespeare's example when he urged French

[1] Baldensperger, *u.s.*, p. 167. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

playwrights to turn away from remote and exotic subjects to celebrate their own St. Louis, Francis I., and Richelieu . . . 'not to speak of the illustrious women in whom French history is so rich.'[1] The appeal, like that of the Italian Conti, twenty years before to his own contingency,[2] shows how Shakespeare's example could quicken national sentiment as well as dramatic emulation. But in practical fruit it remained scarcely less barren.

For the first notable effort on the continent to bring national history on the stage we have to turn from France to her eastern neighbour, whose discovery of Shakespeare had been so much more recent but so much more decisive. Voltaire's patronizing advertisement had been for a quarter of a century before the world when Lessing opened his lips to make the famous assertion that Shakespeare without knowing Aristotle had followed him better than Corneille who did, and that Shakespeare and the Greeks were the true masters of Germany in drama.[3] And the young Goethe told in memorable words his own experience. 'I had not read a page before I felt that he was mine for life; and when I had finished the first play I felt like one born blind whose sight has been magically restored.'[4]

It marks the power which Shakespeare's national Histories could exert on a mind not very sensitive either to history or to nationality, that the drama into which, in 1771, he poured in an impetuous torrent all his new Shakesperean enthusiasm was the History of Goetz von Berlichingen. The German class-conflicts of the sixteenth century had not much in common with the English dynastic struggles of the fifteenth. Goethe seems to have felt in the Histories chiefly their freedom from the laws and usages which had hitherto been observed in drama, and he appreciably enlarged the limits which Shakespeare had still observed. The scene hurries from place to place, from province to province, and the time is spread over many years. In Shakespeare, peasants and citizens are from time to time discreetly admitted, but the action is still in the main the affair of statesmen and kings. Goethe opens the gates wide, and the whole population—peasants, townsfolk, soldiers and courtiers, servants, town councillors, knights, gypsies,—pour upon the stage.

[1] *Mercure de France*, 1742, quoted by Baldensperger, *u.s.*, p. 168.
[2] Robertson, *u.s.*, p. 105.
[3] *Litteraturbriefe*, 1759.
[4] *Rede am Shakespeare Tag*, Oct., 1771.

The hero is not a king or prince, but a large-hearted doughty knight, who leads the insurgent peasants against the ill-organized power of the nobles and the Church, and is finally destroyed. When the young Goethe brought his play to Herder, his somewhat older and riper Shakesperean friend, he returned it with strong disapproval: 'Shakespeare has utterly spoilt you.' And so Goethe felt; he had imitated Shakespeare, and become the less Shakesperean thereby. He was too fine a critic not to understand this very well himself, and the revised Goetz which we read in the published editions, is much less crudely imitative. We are likely to be more struck by the divergences. The play is a dramatized biography of Goetz rather than a tragedy, the story of an adventurous career in a turbulent and stirring society, rather than a drama with a closely welded plot. It is written throughout in prose, like a novel. The steady glow of patriotic ardour which burns in the Histories was at no time in Goethe's way. But he has the fine German sentiment of *Treue* and honesty, and pictures for us Goetz's home, his sterling wife and sister, his loyal comrades Sickingen and Georg, and on the other side the treacherous Adelaide and the impotent Weislingen. And he has the German eye for the currents of spiritual and intellectual life. Magna Charta is ignored in *King John*, and the Reformation is only a side issue in a royal intrigue in *Henry VIII.*; but Goethe brings before us the coming of the Roman Law in the person of Olearius, and the Reformation in the person of 'Brother Martin' himself. Goethe's figure was just. For the blind man who receives his sight sees with his own eyes, not with the oculist's. And if Shakespeare had 'spoilt' him, as Herder complained, it was somewhat as a young colt bursting with life is spoilt by being turned loose into a rich meadow.

A few years after *Goetz*, Shakesperean reminiscence is still apparent in the noble drama of *Egmont*. The struggle of the united Netherlands with Spain is still in the larger sense national history,—the self-assertion of a Germanic against a Latin race. But these antagonisms were not a Goethean theme. Shakespeare is recognizable in the bustling scenes of townsfolk,—the citizens of Brussels; and in particular in one of the liveliest incidents, where the lawyer Vansen plays the part of Mark Antony in the funeral oration,—artfully hinting at a document in his possession which he means them to demand.[1]

[1] II., 1.

And Hastings in *Richard III.* is recalled by Egmont himself, the brilliant, sanguine, shallow noble, who walks into the trap prepared by his remorseless enemy. But the polished duplicity of Alva belongs to another school of diplomacy than Richard's, and to another school of drama than the young Shakespeare's. Instead of the terrific brevity of that

> 'Tellest thou me of "ifs"? Thou art a traitor.
> Off with his head!',

Alva invites his victim to his palace, engages with him in a long and grave discussion of public policy, until, on receiving the agreed signal that all is ready, he, still without discourtesy, demands his sword.

In the meantime the Shakesperean drama had begun at once to fascinate and to repel the sensitive genius of Schiller. He revolted at the coldness which permitted the Englishman to jest in the crisis of tragedy; but Shakespeare's overwhelming power in the handling of tragic character and fate was not to be put by, and has left its impress, as we shall see later, on Schiller's strongest work. Nor was it indifferent for Schiller that Shakespeare, unlike the Greeks, had found his tragic themes in history, and unlike the French and Italians, in recent history, and the history of his own people. Without the Shakesperean example we should hardly have had either *Don Carlos*, *Wallenstein*, or *Tell*. No doubt Schiller saw both history and Shakespeare through the medium of his own high-strung ethical temperament. '*Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht*'; history was a trial of the nations, and a final judgment awaited them. Shakespeare in *Julius Cæsar* and *Antony and Cleopatra* had represented moments in that world-trial, episodes in the eternal conflict of good and evil. And it was because such a world-trial, and such a final judgment seemed to be hinted in them, that the sequence of the English Histories so deeply interested him, at a time when his Shakespeare worship had long subsided. *Richard III.* above all seemed to him, after a re-reading of the entire sequence, 'one of the sublimest tragedies that I know, and I doubt at this moment whether any other of Shakespeare's is its equal. The vast destinies woven in the preceding pieces are here grandly fulfilled. . . . The exclusion from the play of everything tender or sentimental powerfully aids this effect; everything in it is energetic and great, nothing ordinary disturbs the purely æsthetic

impression, we experience tragic terror in its unmitigated purity. A lofty Nemesis operates throughout the piece. . . . No other piece of Shakespeare's reminds me so strongly of Greek tragedy.' And he proposes to Goethe that they should prepare the whole eight pieces for performance on the Weimar stage. 'It might be epoch-making.'[1]

Yet Schiller admired the Histories with many reserves. The English hardness which he found so consonant to the purpose of *Richard III.* was foreign to his emotional nature, and Shakespeare is nowhere less Schillerian than in that play. Schiller's ideal of liberty was a condition of spiritual even more than of political emancipation, aspired to rather than achieved, and it had no real counterpart in the implicit attachment of the burly Englishmen of the Histories to the freedom they securely possessed. And as to the passion for England herself, which does glow through that great dramatic sequence, neither the *Jungfrau von Orleans* nor *Maria Stuart* suggests that it found in their poet other than a cold response. With what different eyes the two dramatists looked on history we may judge from the persons and scenes they invent when the facts do not answer to their need. Shakespeare needs a voice to speak for England, and imagines Falconbridge; Schiller needs a champion of oppressed peoples, or a symbol of heroic devotion and integrity, and invents Marquis Posa or Max Piccolomini.[2] But in spite of these divergences the example of the English Histories was of great value for Schiller. When he wrote the sentence just quoted, *Wallenstein* was in active progress. Only a like large canvas, a like crowded stage, with equally unlimited changes of time and place, could have rendered possible the complex movement of his great double drama; while the brilliant painting of the humours of an army in the camp before Agincourt was one of the sources of the more complex, sustained and finely articulated scenes of *Wallenstein's Lager.* For the elemental patriotism of Henry's soldiers there was indeed little room in this picture of a professional soldiery. And Shakespeare's nationalism is the trait which finds least response in the more philosophic and sophisticated art of Schiller.

[1] *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe*, No. 386, 28 Nov., 1797.

[2] Young Piccolomini, who has to choose between friendship and integrity, has a parallel in Brutus. But Brutus stands alone in Shakespeare and certainly does not resemble him; while Max, who is Schiller in disguise, is a haunting type in his work.

Schiller again, was a historian, and the historian has had his hand in making this 'Camp of Wallenstein' not the opening drama of a genuine trilogy, but a preliminary picture of German society in the Thirty Years' War. Nevertheless, the Schillerian drama, where Shakespeare's elemental power was in some sense translated into eloquence and ideas, provided a medium through which the German people in the nineteenth century made Shakespeare more completely their own. Lessing, Herder, and Goethe had taken a far larger and more splendid part in founding Shakespeare's German fame; but *Nathan* and *Faust* opened avenues into worlds utterly remote from his; it was the partially Shakesperianized drama of Schiller which made him a factor thenceforth in German culture. One of the keenest critics of the mid-century, Otto Ludwig, even championed the art of Shakespeare without reserve against that of Schiller; nor did the satire of a Grabbe and a Rümelin in those years against the 'Shakespeare mania' denote any turning of the tide. As a creative force Shakespeare could still inspire the youth of Grabbe himself, and towards the end of the century touch with modern colour the antique History of Adolf Wilbrandt.[1]

IV.

In the capital of Germany's eastern neighbour, meantime, the national accent of Shakespeare's Histories had comparatively early evoked an unskilful but pronounced response. The empress Catharine II. played a conspicuous if not an authoritative part in the introduction of Shakespeare to Russia. A German princess, with a foible for cosmopolitan culture, she invited Diderot to her court, and besides importing English racehorses and Wedgwood ware, devoted much imperial leisure to translating and 'imitating' Shakespeare. After a first experiment with *The Merry Wives* (1783),—undertaken perhaps because another great woman-sovereign had 'commanded' it from the author,—she boldly set out to provide the Russian people with a national History which should, at the same time, after Shakespeare's example, add to the lustre of her dynasty and crown. It was thus that her choice fell upon—no rebel knight, we may be sure, like Goetz, no sublime traitor like Wallenstein,—but the legendary founder of the

[1] *Arria und Messalina* (1874). R. M. Meyer, *Gesch. der d. Litt. im 19th. J.*, p. 621.

Russian dynasty. We know from her correspondence that she found Shakespeare's plays 'very convenient' models, having no rule but good sense, so that 'everything is possible in them, and nothing but the tedious and the insipid is wrong.'[1] Catherine, however, able as she was, was not a dramatist, and her *Rurik* did but feebly point the way. Nor was her way followed. The forty years of anglomania of which she was an early symptom saw Shakespeare admired and imitated in Russia with effusion ; *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Romeo and Juliet* were adapted, performed, expounded. But to follow Shakespeare creatively, and make original drama of Russian national history, called for another order of powers altogether. It was fortunate for Russia that this task allured her greatest poet, Alexander Pushkin. His *Boris Godunov*, written in the first enthusiasm of a poet's discovery of Shakespeare, but also with the clarity and precision of the pre-romantic age which survived in him, must be placed among the greatest of the historical plays inspired by Shakespeare. Pushkin found in the story of the usurper Boris a subject rich in Shakespearean opportunities. The plot, as in all Shakespeare's Histories—even the Roman plays, *mutatis mutandis*—and as in the finest of later Histories on Shakesperean lines, Ibsen's *Kongsemnerne*, turns on a struggle for the crown. Boris, like Henry IV., Richard III., and John, holds power by a precarious tenure, and like them tries to clinch it by assassination. His difficult poise between nobles and people, both outwardly submissive and both only watching their chance, is maintained with Richard's crafty diplomacy and with his ruthless will. And, like both Richards, he has to deal with a Pretender as astute as himself, to whose power his own finally succumbs. Like Cæsar he puts back the proffered crown at the outset, with a show of feigned reluctance ; and the most effective scene in the play represents his carrying on a similar match in duplicity with the wiliest of his supporters, like Richard in his last dialogues with Buckingham. Pushkin availed himself at many points of Shakesperean freedom—the use of gross language for gross persons, introduction of the populace, of children, of tavern and camp scenes,—but with added freedoms of his own ; a mother and child among the throng at the coronation ; Boris's young son and daughter in the palace nursery or slaughtered at its gates ; an 'Idiot' (a Russian institution) using his

[1] Letter to Grimm, 24 Sept. 1786, Lirondelle, *Shakespeare en Russie*, p. 42.

chartered licence to tell home truths to the tyrant himself. He appears to break away from Shakespeare by admitting love in his History; but the exception is one which strictly proves the rule, for 'a tragedy without love,' he wrote, 'attracts me,' and he introduced love only as a foil to the character of the heroine. Rosina is not a tender mistress, like Clärchen or Thekla, but a resolute young woman who will marry the Pretender only if he gives her a throne, and who demands in the language of Portia to share his political secrets. Pushkin, too, not only intermingles verse and prose (as neither Goethe nor Hugo ventured to do) but intersperses rhymed stanzas with blank verse.[1]

All this shows complete detachment from the historical drama of Schiller and Goethe. Pushkin's powerful initiative did not remain fruitless. The Russian sixteenth-century surpassed our Plantagenet age in despotic savagery, as her nineteenth surpassed every other modern epoch in tragic grandeur and pathos. Pushkin's proximate successor, both in his actual subject and in his Shakesperean freedom of intermingled tragedy and comedy, was Alexis Tolstoy, author of the trilogy *The Death of Ivan the Terrible*, *Tsar Fedor Ivanovitch*, and *Tsar Boris*, and of the romance of the same reign, *Prince Serebräni*. But his truest successor was the mightier genius of the same name, who found the limited mould of drama, and consequently of all formal Shakesperean precedent, inadequate to the epic range and compass of *War and Peace*.

V.

While Pushkin in Petersburg was thus building with Shakespeare's help a Russian historical drama, several concurrent forces were making the Shakesperean Histories for the first time the focus of eager interest in France. Whatever applause *Julius Cæsar* or *Richard III.* had enjoyed in pre-revolutionary Paris, they had received in their quality of tragedies rather than as historical drama, and the temper of the Revolution age was still less tolerant of these chronicles of alien kings. But Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* (1802) marked a

[1] Pushkin's play was used as libretto for his opera of the same name by Mirzy-Kirsakoff. A more detailed study of the play in its relation to Shakespeare by the present writer will appear in a later issue of the BULLETIN. *Cf.* also N. Dole in *Poetlore*, I. 11, II. 3, and Pokrovsky, *Shakespeare's J. C.*, 1907.

first step in the recovery of the sentiment of the past, and this vague emotional reaction soon received content and definition from two powerful movements of the first quarter of the new century: the beginnings of the scientific study of history, and the publication of the Waverley Novels. To these non-dramatic influences was added towards the middle of the 'twenties the stormy revolt of the French Romantics, led by Hugo, against the national tradition in drama, in the name precisely of the free technique of Shakespeare. M. Baldensperger has described the convergence of complex influences upon Shakespeare's Histories during these excited years, in a luminous sentence, as an 'implicit *entente* which seems to impose this great name and illustrious example simultaneously upon four in reality very divergent tendencies which find in him support for at least the negative part of their program.'[1]

The historians recognized the value of Shakespeare's drama for the life-like presentation of history. But they had no use, for that purpose, either of the ideality of verse, or of the symmetry of a rounded plot. Hence they fell upon the compromise of a sequence of prose scenes. Of such drama, wrote Guizot, the greatest of contemporary historians, 'Shakespeare offered not an absolute model, but the plans on which genius has to work.' It was in this sense, they thought, that one man of genius, Goethe, had shown the way in *Goetz*. But it was with far severer historicity than either Goethe or Shakespeare, that, among others, Vitet carried out this program in his powerful 'trilogy' (1827-29) founded on the sombre crisis of the sixteenth-century civil wars—the *Barricades*, the *États de Blois*, and the *Mort de Henri III*.

Closely allied were the experiments of men who were drawn to history by psychological rather than pragmatic interest, and who later, like Stendhal and Mérimée, found their ideal form in historical romance. Mérimée's *Jacquerie* (1828) brings home to us both the importance of the Shakesperean suggestions, and the enormous advance achieved since his day in the apprehension of history. No French dramatist had painted the French side of the Hundred Years War.

[1] *Esquisse*, p. 196. The next paragraph is based upon M. Baldensperger's analysis. The external detail of Shakespeare's vogue in France at this time is collected in Mr. Eric Partridge's *The French Romantics' Knowledge of English Literature* (1924), a learned but not very illuminating survey.

The vigorous nationalism of *Henry V.* and *Henry VI.* might have provoked retort. But the Shakesperean seed is here working in a mind of very unlike temper—not genial or expansive, but cool, ironic, disciplined, democratic and erudite. Mérimée, who now shows us France as she was during that terrible century, writes only as a learned and brilliant historian of social conditions. His subject, the savage conflict of the French serfs with their feudal lords, had counterparts in the England of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but no nearer counterpart in Shakespeare's art than the humorous caricature of the rebellion of Cade. Shakespeare had exploited the arrogant vanity of the French soldiers in a like temper of patriotic badinage. Mérimée shows us, with a more veracious realism than Shakespeare himself, the English soldier who swaggered through the occupied France of that day,—a stout fellow of his hands, a great eater and drinker, hardy and independent, scornful, as a son of well-governed England, of the feudal humiliations under which the French peasant groaned, and often intervening with rough good-nature in his behalf. In all this the historian entirely effaces the lover of Shakespeare and the student of his art; but it was nevertheless Shakespeare's dramatic presentation of history which led the historian to throw his picture into dramatic form at all.

A very different type of 'historic' enthusiasm possessed the brilliant band of poets, who formed the newly-founded Romantic School led by Victor Hugo. How closely, if not 'history,' at least a fantastic pageant simulating the past, entered into their notion of romantic poetry, we may judge from Hugo's notorious *Cromwell* (1826), and the famous manifesto which he issued as its Preface. Extravagant, even outrageous, as this unactable drama must appear as a presentation of Cromwell or his age, Hugo was not consciously weaving a fairy-tale. On the contrary he meant to be a historian. He studied chronicles and memoirs; his character of Cromwell is Cromwell as he saw him in the light of these authorities. 'This is the man, this the epoch,' he tells us, 'which I have tried to sketch in this book.'[1] And if its 6000 lines convey an action which lasts only a few hours and never moves out of London, this concentration is a result of fidelity not to the classical Unities but to the recorded facts; carried out 'not by Aristotle's leave but with the leave of history.'[2]

[1] *Pref.*, p. 39. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

It is clear, however, that whatever 'history' may have permitted or forbidden to the author of *Cromwell*, this was not a serious attempt to create an acting historical drama on Shakesperean or any other lines. And when Hugo a few years later delivered his first real challenge to French classical orthodoxy with *Hernani* (1830), he owed to Shakespeare little more than the warrant for a swiftly moving scene, an action crowded with incident and with persons, and the free modulation of the alexandrine in which he sought the counterpart of Shakespeare's free intermingling of verse and prose. We are at the court of Isabella of Spain; and the legendary romance of Spanish history, the glory of the Cid in chivalry and love, has effaced the tussles of our Plantagenets for crown and kingdom from the romantic brain of Hugo. The love of Hernani and Dona Sol fills the centre of the piece with its lyrical splendour, and this bandit hero and lover, like Hugo's other heroes—Ruy Blas, Gennaro, Rodolfo—is inspired by Byron, not by Shakespeare.[1]

VI.

In Hugo's drama we are already farther from the pole of Romanticism which borders upon History than from that which touches the realm of marvel and faerie.

Shakespeare, if we judge him rightly, was not a Romantic in any sense, and there was as little of the mystic in him as of the historian. Like Homer, he was as much at home in the 'prose' as in the 'poetry' of life, and made as good poetry of it. He did not walk the world transported with the sense of invisible presences, or forget the actual in visions of an ideal future, any more than he put aside the preconceptions of his own age in the endeavour to apprehend the past. But here too, by the insight and psychological veracity with which he rendered humanity as he saw it, in all its living 'habit' of custom and belief, his legend and folklore, ghosts, witches, and fairies, and the airy shapes which syllable men's names, acquired an appeal to the imagination which cynicism and 'good sense' could not permanently resist, and which contributed to undermine their authority by fostering the 'renascence of wonder,' as his brillant 'Elizabethan' versions of the past had quickened the imaginative presentations of history.

[1] *Cf.* Lanson, *Hist. d. la litt. franç.*, p. 964.

Many a line and phrase ejaculated as it were casually in the great moments of his drama had a quality which makes the senses seem less credible and the solid earth less final and less secure. Macbeth's 'there is nothing serious in mortality,' Prospero's 'we are such stuff as dreams are made on,' momentarily invest the visible scene in a spectral light charged with the mystery of life and death.

The supernaturalism of the great tragedies and that of the faery dramas belong to different spheres of art, and they had different fortunes in the history of Shakespeare's fame. So long as *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* retained their overwhelming tragic appeal, ghosts and witches were secure from æsthetic scorn. But Oberon and Ariel held their ground by a more precarious tenure. Voltaire, far from cavilling at the introduction of a ghost on the stage, saw in it a means of enriching the scanty French inventory of the sources of tragic terror, and borrowed it for his own *Sémiramide*. The Voltairean ghost, it is true, failed to terrify; but Parisian salons a few years later could be thrilled by the spectacle of Garrick as Macbeth clutching at the airy dagger that beckons him to the chamber of Duncan.[1] *The Tempest* and the *Midsummer Night's Dream* were not fortified by this overpowering human and tragic interest; and the latter was dismissed with indignation by Mr. Pepys. Dryden and Addison might extol 'the fairy way of writing,'[2] but the phrase piquantly betrays that such literature was now simply an elegant accomplishment, like the composition of Latin verse,—a delightful diversion, *mentis gratissimus error*, such as the most rational mind may permit itself to enjoy. It was not by Addison's agreeable discourses, nor yet by the benignant indulgence of Johnson, that the nature and power of 'the fairy way of writing' as Shakespeare practised it could be divined or disclosed. With the English pioneers of Romanticism, the Wartons, Hurd, and Collins, who long before Johnson's *Preface* had shown another way of regarding superstitions, or with Young, whose churchyard melancholy spread over cultivated Europe a sentiment highly favourable to marvel, we are not here concerned. Vico, the initiator of the whole movement, knew nothing of Shakespeare. Bodmer, who with Breitinger, was the first to proclaim in German that the wonderful is the essence of poetry (1742) had scarcely heard, and could not

[1] Baldensperger, *u.s.*, p. 169. [2] *Spect.*, No. 419.

spell, his name. The distinction of having led the way on the continent in seeing the marvel-world of Shakespeare with imaginative eyes belongs to J. S. Herder.

Herder's rich synthetic genius had drawn decisive suggestions from Hurd and probably from Vico. But he was the first to apply on a world-wide scale, with the insight and eloquence of a poet, the belief formulated by Vico a generation before, that poetry is the birth of naive conditions and of the childlike phases of human history. In that primitive phase of history myth was as natural as song. Folklore and folksong went together, and it was not hard to discover in these native springs of marvel, still in Herder's day less overlaid by civilization in Germany than elsewhese in the West, an appanage peculiarly abundant in the Germanic race, and peculiarly congenial to its temper.

It is easy to understand how Shakespeare appeared to Herder, seen through the glamour of these ideas, if it was not rather the apparition of Shakespeare which illuminated all the other avenues of his thought. It would not be just to say that Herder saw in Shakespeare only that which transcends ordinary life; yet it is chiefly this which ravishes and intoxicates him. Lessing had exposed with trenchant ridicule Voltaire's attempt at a ghost in *Sémiramide*, but he was chiefly concerned to show how grossly Voltaire had violated the imaginative verisimilitude which must be observed if a stage-ghost is to be dramatically right.[1] For Herder the ghosts and witches and fairies of Shakespeare were magical glimpses of primitive poetry. This is how he seeks to bring home the tragic quality of *Macbeth* to an imaginary novice not yet responsive to its spell: 'When Shakespeare was revolving that terrific royal murder in his soul, were you, reader, too dull to go along with him in every successive scene? Then alas for Shakespeare, alas for the faded pages in your hands! Then you have felt nothing in the opening scene with the witches, in thunder and lightning, nothing in the "bloody man," and the King's greeting to him, and the working of this greeting and the witches' in his head!

[1] Lessing puts the matter with admirable force and point: 'Not to believe in ghosts is no reason for not employing them in drama. The germ of belief in them is implicit in us all, particularly in those for whom the dramatist writes. Everything depends on the poet's power to quicken these germs. If he has it, we may believe in ordinary life as we please; in the theatre we believe what *he* chooses. Such a poet is Shakespeare and he almost alone.' *Hamb. Dram.*, St. 11.

Nothing at seeing his wife with the fatal letter pacing that castle chamber where later she will walk so horribly transformed! Nothing in the gentle king, and the mild evening air about the house where the swallow nests secure, but thou, O king, wilt find thy murder-bed . . . !'[1]

It is easy to understand that the tragedies of northern legend,—*Hamlet*, *Lear*, *Macbeth*, appealed more powerfully to Herder's temperament than *Othello* and *Romeo and Juliet*, tragedies of the south and of the modern world.

Herder was one of the heralds of the German Romantic School of the next generation, as Lessing was its antithesis or, in its own eyes, its Antichrist. And for the completed reaction of the German mind to Shakesperean Romance and the most unqualified exultation of the wonderful in Shakespeare, we must turn to the group of critics and poets who in 1800 founded that movement.[2] For with the Schlegels and Tieck the revolt against rationalism, of which we have traced some phases, assumed an acute and extravagant, yet strangely fruitful form. Bodmer, building upon *Paradise Lost*, which for Milton was rational if not real, had required the poet to give the wonderful at least the air of probability: the later Romantics rejected such compromises. They not only opened the door to all that reason cannot apprehend, but barred it upon reason. Logical connexion, ordered purpose, natural and social law, belonged at best to the prose of life; genius and poetry first found themselves when they escaped into the studio,—to the freedom of an art emancipated from nature and not even ideally 'imitating' it; emancipated no less from society, and its bourgeois satisfactions and interests; an art inspired by all that flouts rationality,—caprice, fancy, play, mystery, 'irony.' Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* was the first of novels because its hero (unlike Tom Jones) reached a goal at the close utterly unlike that he made for at the beginning, and that (no less otherwise than Tom) by way of art.

A more recondite development of all this was seen in the Romantic philosophy of Schelling, for whom genius, thus rebellious to prosaic actuality, was an effluence of the 'world-soul.' The

[1] *Shakespeare.* In 'Von deutscher Art und Kunst,' Hamburg, 1773.

[2] On this section Gundolf, *u.s.*, 'Romantics' has valuable, if overcharged, ideas.

'incalculableness' of supreme art was found also in the universe. The most original mind among these propounders of paradox was the brilliant and daring Friedrich Schlegel. But his brother August and Ludwig Tieck took an even more important part in working out the consequences of these ideas in criticism and literature. Their application to Shakespeare was principally the work of these two.

But few paradoxes are so wild that a case for them cannot be made good in the universe of Shakespeare. And the Romantic paradoxes concealed not a little of original and illuminating perception. These irrationalists seized, in the first place, and vindicated the element of real irrationality in Shakespeare's art; the playful defiance of probability, the transparent but never penetrated disguises, the 'accidents' which turn the balance between life and death. The worship of caprice and 'irony' doubtless led to some eccentric results; as when the whimsical construction of *Love's Labour's Lost* and the fairy-tale plot of *Pericles* were held to place these plays near the summit of Shakespeare's achievement. But this Romantic paradox wholesomely checked the disposition to discover throughout Shakespeare profound purpose or moral law.

More important was the discovery that Shakespeare's *language* is also in the main less an instrument of logical expression than of magical suggestion, achieving its unmatched power not by combinations of definite terms in defined meanings, but by incalculable felicities of collocation. And for this Shakesperean language of suggestion and collocation August Schlegel had the genius to discover a wonderfully close counterpart in his own tongue. From the resources of a speech heavily overlaid by the abstractions of erudition and scholasticism he elicited the rich lore of native idiom. Schlegel was in no way comparable with Goethe or Schiller as an original poet. But he found for Shakespeare a German speech more Shakesperean, and even more intimately poetic, than lay within the compass of either. Most German poetry other than folksong had been composed by minds too instinct with culture to achieve the fine unreason of poetic phrase. Goethe himself, the most childlike, was the wisest of children, and knew, as Arnold said, why every stroke was there. His verse-tragedies apart from *Faust* are written with Sophocles not Shakespeare in mind; while the dramatic speech of Lessing is that of a brilliant logician, and the dramatic speech of Schiller that of an eloquent pleader.

But Shakespeare, as Tennyson profoundly said, taught us to tolerate incoherence. In most things we English did not and do not need the lesson. But to the methodical German the fine unreason of poetic speech embodied in the great translation was a discovery destined to bear fruit.

Finally, the Romantic paradox threw a new light, which by no means led entirely astray, upon Shakespeare's *faerie*. Shakespeare was the supreme poet because the mysterious unreason of things which permeates life is so transparently mirrored in his art. The delight we feel in his portrayal of the mysterious things in nature is therefore something very different from Addison's 'delight in illusion.' To the Schlegel brothers and Tieck, the *Midsummer Night's Dream* and the *Tempest* were not mere beautiful byways in the Kingdom of Shakespeare, they were the door which gave access to its inmost shrine. This Shakespeare was the real Shakespeare, and Prospero's 'we are such stuff as dreams are made on,' and Theseus's lines on imagination that bodies forth the forms of things unknown, were the key to his mind and to the meaning of his poetry.

To the cooler scrutiny of later scholarship this was sheer misunderstanding of Shakespeare, as well as, incidentally, of Theseus's speech. Nevertheless, as historians of Romanticism have pointed out, Tieck's misunderstanding was of immense value. His illusory discoveries in Shakespeare led the way in other fields to discoveries not illusory.[1] Shakespeare's fairy world made these German poets and critics aware of their own. In the German countryside around them still survived countless traces of a faery world far richer than that at which Shakespeare had casually glanced; and folk custom and folk tale were still the articulate witnesses to a cosmic life in which elves and gnomes, goblins and dwarfs, wishing-rods and magical sayings, provided the everpresent background and the recurring crises and catastrophes. Tieck himself possessed this *Urgefühl*, the sense for the primitive, in a high degree; it was the source of almost all that was beautiful in his own prodigally abundant but evanescent poetry. And it became the source of something that was not evanescent, when the study of the folklore of Germany took organic shape in the great *Deutsche Mythologie* of Jakob Grimm. Shakespeare's sport with the Elizabethan fairy-world,

[1] This aspect of Tieck's work has been admirably appreciated by Gundolf, *u.s.*

perhaps for the entertainment of the guests at an Elizabethan court-wedding, thus guided the Romantic explorers in their first imperfect yet momentous steps towards that comprehension of the mentality of primitive man upon which modern anthropology is based. It is in the workshop of German science, not in the gallery of his faded legendary tales and dramas, that the real and lasting achievement of Tieck is to be found. But the German Romantics, so fertile and often profound in criticism, so rich in the penetrating intuitions presently to be elaborated in science, were ineffectual in their original dramatic poetry. Nor, within the sphere of literature, was it by imitating Shakespeare, but by giving free play to her inborn and incomparable gift of song, that Germany in the person of Romantics like Uhland and Eichendorff reached noble heights of poetry. It is only now and then in later days, under the realist regime of the 'nineties, that the myth world of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* could still be remembered in the beautiful *Versunkene Glocke* of Gerhard Hauptmann.

And the romantic teaching reacted for better and worse upon the study and comprehension of Shakespeare himself. It mattered little that Tieck took the *Dream* and the *Tempest* to be the key to his genius. It mattered little even that Friedrich Schlegel, on the lines of Schelling, ascribed to Shakespeare a 'cosmic thinking power' allied to and fulfilling the mind of God. This cosmic Shakespeare was far enough from Lessing's cool self-conscious artist, whose greatness lay in his right use of his artistic resources, and who 'imitated Nature so successfully because he understood Art so well.'[1] Perhaps it was, in substance, not less true.

VII.

In France, on the other hand, it was precisely this aspect of Shakespeare, so fruitful in the Romanticism of Germany, that found least response. The intimate penetration of French Romanticism with historic science, which has been described, was unfavourable to the mystic temper; and the *Urgefühl* which had made German Romanticism the parent of scientific mythology and folklore was conspicuously wanting among the Romantics of France and rare among her historians.

Even the sportive, 'ironic' temper which the German Romantics

[1] Gundolf, *u.s.*

recognized in Shakespeare's comedies and laboriously emulated in some of their own, found only late and rare recognition among the French. Hugo's pretensions as a 'historian' did not save him from monstrous distortions of history; but they were too serious to allow him to sport, like Shakespeare, with place and time. Equally far was his gross and rather vulgar humour from the semblance of Shakespeare's delicate fancy. It was at most on the side of 'the grotesque' that their spheres of humour approached. One only of his fellow poets had the genius to create comedies akin to Shakespeare's in this humorous detachment from any actual or historic milieu, and comparable with his in psychological truth. The *Comédies* and *Proverbes* of Alfred de Musset do not cross the borders of the faery world, but scenery and circumstance have the capricious vagueness, and the action the sudden turns and swift surprises of the fairy tale. But whatever they owed to Shakesperean suggestion they are truly and exquisitely French. Shakespeare, 'his great friend,' has not so much taught Musset as opened the door into a region of gracious fancy, unknown to his countrymen before, where he discovered for himself. Heine declared that the French, who understood Shakespeare's tragedy with difficulty, entirely failed to comprehend the enchanted world of Shakesperean comedy. 'Musset,' declares M. Baldensperger, 'refutes that sceptical prognostic;' to him chiefly is due the rehabilitation of this enchanted garden in France, hitherto responsive only to the tragic and the 'grotesque' in Shakespeare; so that there exists a whole work of French poetry and fancy bathed in the woodland freshness of *As You Like It* and the moonlight of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*.[1] This is just, with one reserve. The fairy tale is without fairies. The most enchanted corner of the enchanted garden remained unexplored. To the poetry of myth and marvel the French imagination of the Romantic age was certainly not inaccessible. But the generating stimulus came from Goethe's *Faust*[2] or from Hoffmann's Tales, not from Shakespeare.

But where Shakespeare did not prevail as poetry he succeeded as melodrama. From the beginning of the century the untrained

[1] Baldensperger, *u.s.*, p. 203. George Sand later adapted *As You Like It* for French actors.

[2] On the influence of *Faust* in and beyond Romantic France, cf. M. Baldensperger's valuable monograph, *Goethe en France*.

populace of the boulevards had been regaled with abundance of Shakesperean fare, and here the marvels were the most savoursome ingredient of the dish. Thus the 'walking forest' of *Macbeth* figured in one melodrama, the ghost of *Hamlet* in another.

If we seek, in French poetry, a more direct emanation from this enchanted corner of Shakespeare, we have to pass out of France, and out of the Romantic generation, to the Flanders of our own day. Maeterlinck's drama, in its earliest phase, resembles a dream of a Shakesperean dream, of such a dream as oppressed Macbeth's fevered imagination after the crime. The stir and passion of drama are subdued to a shadowy semblance; tumult and debate to mysterious intimations or pregnant silence; tragic events occur, but the persons engaged in them are childlike, scarcely corporeal, maidens and brooding old men. Here the unearthly effect is won not so much by the dreamy outlines of the landscape as by the elimination of all that is pronounced and emphatic in character.

More recently, in France itself, thanks in part to the influence of Maeterlinck, the supple and sensitive genius of French criticism has shewn itself peculiarly accessible to the aspect of Shakespeare which it once branded as the barbarian's 'sottise.' For M. André Chevrillon —coming round from another angle, and quite unconsciously, to the view of the German Romantics—the visionary, the 'Celtic,' poet is predominant though not exclusive in Shakespeare. Over the Shakesperean drama he sees 'the spectral light that Carlyle saw flooding history.' His 'world is woven of the same stuff as our dreams,' and Shakespeare himself is but the supreme example of the visionary imagination in which the English and the Russian people stand alone.[1]

Whether Shakespeare himself saw the world with the eyes of a visionary we need not here inquire. What is certain, and for our purpose alone important, is that he had a profound aquaintance with the visionary imagination in others, and portrayed it with convincing power. It is the psychological mastery of Shakespeare, as shown in his creation of character, that has commonly been held to be his greatest gift. To its reactions in continental criticism aud poetry we have now, finally, to turn.

[1] Chevrillon, A., *Trois Etudes* (Kipling, Galsworthy, Shakespeare).

VIII.

The distinguished critic just quoted has pointed to the paradox that the people 'which most worships health' should also have 'painted more powerfully and persistently than any other those disorders in which the internal forces of man lose their balance and are seen in all their tragic grandeur.' It is assuredly in the great tragedies that his mastery of the heights and depths of character is most extraordinary.

Shakespeare's power as a creator of character had however to wait long for express recognition. His own countrymen bore implicit witness to it when they crowded the gallery of the Globe to see 'Beatrice' or 'Malvoglio,' and when the History of Henry IV. was commonly known as the comedy of Falstaff. But when Shakespeare was 'discovered' in the following century, this side of his achievement was not conspicuously a mark for either admiration or abuse. His 'genius' was seen in 'situations,' and in telling devices of stage-craft, like the ghost; his 'barbarism' in bits of impertinent action like the gravedigging episode, and Desdemona's return to life.[1] But Macbeth and Othello themselves did not obviously portend revolution, and might have been accommodated without any breaking strain to the technique of Corneille.

Nevertheless, the Shakesperean character was a genuine growth of the Elizabethan soil, as richly steeped in Elizabethan mentality as any of those grotesque extravagances ridiculed by his French discoverer. His imagined persons bore less trace than any others in great literature of the formalism of the schools. Their flowing yet firm profiles did not conform to the rigid outlines of accepted categories of human nature, nor their subtle complexity, their impulsive vagaries, their capacity for growth and for degeneration, their inconsistencies and self-contradictions, to the 'decorum' postulated by classical theory. And they were destined, no less than his nationalist history, or his faerie, to sap the authority of Cartesian rationalism in art. But it was reserved for Romantic criticism to appreciate the originality and profundity of Shakespeare's character creation, and nowhere was the imaginative insight of Coleridge, Lamb, or Schlegel, more brilliantly applied.

[1] Voltaire, *Lettres sur les Anglais*, xviii. It is to be noted that Voltaire's point is not that Desdemona in her last words does not speak as a wife just strangled with insufficient reason by her husband might be expected to speak, but that under these conditions she is made to speak at all.

The distinctive superiority of Shakespeare's characters, as they represent it, and the ground of their superiority to those of the classicist and even of the antique drama, lies mainly in two points. Shakespeare creates 'individuals,' not 'types'; his great tragic heroes, in particular, do not represent a class, they have generic traits, but these connect them with different genera; Macbeth, the murderer tormented by imagination, Othello, 'not easily jealous but, being in, perplexed in the extreme,' stand, like most of Browning's people, if without his wilful paradox, 'on the dangerous edge of things.'

And while they thus resist exhaustive classification within rational categories, they move and act, and take vital decisions, under the sway of inner forces with whose operation reason has very little to do. In Shakespeare's psychology, conscious or not, men do not act on the ground of reason but use reason to defend the action to which passion has impelled them. His monologues of debate are not, like Corneille's, extended syllogisms advancing from premises to a conclusion. Most often, like Brutus, his deliberators have already framed their resolution—even announce it in their opening words ('It must be by his death')—and the ostensible inward debate that ensues is merely the process of discovering reasons for their course. And this trait, in which Shakespeare's insight is entirely confirmed by modern psychological science, is closely linked with the unprecedented import which attaches to *character* in his drama. Character is there the ultimate ground, as Fate was with the Greeks. His persons do not act in a particular way because they have stronger motives for acting so than otherwise, but because, as Hegel said, they are, once for all, what they are.[1] It is this which distinguishes Hamlet from his supposed antique counterpart Orestes. Orestes struggles in a genuine dilemma, a conflict of duties, each imperious, each divinely imposed; Hamlet's is the more desperate case of one who sees all the motives for acting on the one side ('How all occasions do inform against me'), and his own inertia on the other, and falls between his nature and his will.

The quality of Shakespeare's characterization was only by degrees fully recognized. Here and there, some figure of fresh English girlhood, of a kind unknown to the French stage, 'less reflective and moral than the Junies and Aricies, less energetic than the Hermiones

[1] *Aesthetik*, III., 567.

and Roxanes,' may have attracted Voltaire's emulation ;[1] but the psychical opulency of Shakespeare's more complex creations would have emerged denuded to abstraction from the crucible of that hard and brilliant brain, even if it had not been deliberately simplified by the doctrinaire critic. 'How bald is the jealous Orosmane beside the jealous Othello!' exclaims Lessing, reviewing Voltaire's *Zaire* ;[2] and Lessing had little of the Germanic delight in complexity ; much as he disdained Voltaire's 'bald' Othello, he would probably have preferred to the richness of Shakespeare's an Othello drawn with the noble simplicity of Sophocles. The reaction of the Germanic temperament to the overwhelming experience which Shakespeare's representation of tragic conflict, agony, and ruin brought in that generation to sensitive, mature, and unprepared minds, is better seen in the glowing and impassioned rhapsody of Herder already quoted. To him the complexity of Shakespeare and the 'simplicity' of Sophocles were equally justified, because, for the Germanic peoples, and for the Greeks, equally grounded in history and 'nature'. The wild spirits of the 'Sturm und Drang' were incapable of this historic relativity. They saw in Shakespeare crude projections of themselves, and impetuously made him their own. Their watchwords were freedom and genius, and they thought they found in his criminals of Titanic ruthlessness and Titanic powers, consummate examples of what freedom and genius meant. Even the young Schiller of *Die Räuber* read into Shakespeare his own anarchic and tempestuous idealism, and imagined that his Franz Moor was an Edmund because he committed adultery and parricide.

But Schiller's drama, with all its crudity is, as Coleridge felt, sublime. Through its grossness and extravagance there burns the passion of personality which in loftier and richer forms was to permeate with its fertilizing inspiration the poetry and the speculation of the great age. That Germanic prepossession of the supreme worth of the individual self, which found expression in Luther's assertion of private judgment, in Leibniz's universe of autonomous monads, in Kant's ethical principle that the Person must always be treated as an end, never as a means, in Fichte's interpretation of the world as a

[1] As M. Baldensperger (*u.s.*, p. 165, and M. Lanson, *Voltaire*, p. 102, quoted there, concur is believing.

[2] *Hamb. Drun.*, St. 15.

manifestation of Ego, in Goethe's great epic drama of a soul's development, and in his romance of 'Apprenticeship' in the building of a life, —this profound, ingrained faith in personality underlay the crude extravagances of the *Sturm und Drang;* and for larger, more critical German eyes than theirs, it invested with a peculiar fascination the inborn strength and spontaneous autonomy of Shakespeare's characters. Both Schiller and Goethe came in later days to find more complete satisfaction in the Attic than in the Shakesperean stage. But Shakespeare's characters maintained their hold upon them when they had become severe censors of the rest of his technique. The plot of Hamlet might be encumbered, as in the eyes of both poets it was, by its background of irrelevant incident in Norway, Poland, and England; but the personality of Hamlet himself exercised a lasting spell. And here the Attic drama itself helped them, as it had helped Lessing, to a deeper insight into Shakespeare. They saw that, though he knew nothing of the external fate which determines the tragic destinies of the Atridae or of Oedipus, he had represented with a power and psychological mastery beyond parellel the nexus between character and tragic doom; so that character itself seemed to acquire the status of fate, a fate operating not without but within. And at a date still further removed from the unqualified Shakespeare worship of his early prime, when he was about to bring *Romeo and Juliet* on the Weimar stage relieved of those farcical intruders—'intolerable to our sense of continuity'—Mercutio and the Nurse,[1] he could extol Shakespeare's handling of the tragic dilemma in *Hamlet* and the rest as an extraordinary and unexampled union of the antique and the modern.[2] So stubbornly did the richness and intensity of Shakespeare's painting of character retain its hold upon his critical intellect when he was least accessible to the largely ordered composition of the Shakesperean plot.

Neither of the Weimar poets, moreover, escaped this influence in their original creations. They rarely, after their novitiate, imitated him, even in the original fashion of genius; they rather struggled to resist his spell. *Cæsar* and *Lear*, *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* were *there*, and no one who had once been intoxicated by their power could then, without a powerful effort of will, write tragic drama as if they did not

[1] *Shakespeare und Kein Ende*, 1813-1826. [2] *Ibid.*

exist. But precisely at this point of strongest attraction the psychological and ethical divergence was most sensible. To both poets the outlook upon life which seems to underlie the tragedy of Shakespeare was uncongenial, if not repellent. Neither of them faces its calamities, its ironic sport with human happiness, so unflinchingly or with hopes so hardly maintained, as he. We are nowhere confronted, in *Faust* or in *Wallenstein*, with that 'world travailing for perfection but bringing to birth, together with glorious good, an evil which it is able to overcome only by self-torture and self-waste,' which Shakespeare in Bradley's penetrating words, has shown us in *Othello* and *Lear*.[1]

Schiller, with his soaring gaze fixed upon the ideal, could not have felt thus poignantly the calamities of tragedy, even had his imagination been of Shakesperean compass and intensity. His hero's ruin is not 'self-waste' or even 'self-torture'; it is seen in the transfiguring light of the moral sublimity for which it affords the occasion. The *Jungfrau von Orleans* and *Maria Stuart*, whose heroines are thus 'liberated by their doom, are drawn with an animus which seems un-Shakesperean as well as anti-English. But in the grand 'quasi-trilogy' of *Wallenstein*, his greatest achievement, he is nearer to Shakespeare; in part simply because he keeps the 'Schiller' in him more severely in check. We have already noticed the bearing of the camp scenes of *Henry V.* upon those of *Wallenstein's Lager*. But the personality of Wallenstein is made, as signally as that of Macbeth or Hamlet, the conditioning cause out of which the whole action grows. He does not fall because he has rebelled against the emperor, or intrigued with the Swedes. He acts and plots in an atmosphere of illusion generated by his own superb and boundless self-will. He is the most remarkable example in modern drama since Shakespeare, of a great man entangled in his own personality, and brought low not by his enemies' plots but by the whole complex of mingled grandeur, ambition, and self-deception, in himself. While the tragedy was still on the stocks, Schiller felt concern lest he was allowing the outer forces, the machinations of Wallenstein's enemies, too large a part in bringing about his fate; lest, in other words, he had been untrue to the great Shakesperean way of conceiving tragedy as a doom rooted in the soul of the hero. 'But I took comfort,'

[1] *Shakesperean Tragedy*, p. 39.

he writes to Goethe, 'from the case of Macbeth, where metaphysical fate is likewise far less to blame for the man's ruin than the man himself.'[1] Wallenstein is no counterpart of Macbeth, but he would not have been the great and moving figure he is without the example of Shakespeare's tragedies. Here there is no question of actual supernatural powers. Schiller, with all his reverence both for Shakespeare and the Greeks, was too modern to represent fate and metaphysical aid as actually intervening to precipitate his hero's fall even by merely mocking him with delusive hopes. But he saw that Shakespeare too, though his witches were real, made Macbeth's own impatient ambition the real source of his ruin ; and he has made Wallenstein too his own Nemesis. His faith in the guidance of the stars is only one aspect of the illusion which blinds him to the treachery of bosom friends, and makes him imagine that he is the maker of circumstance and the disposer of events when he is by that very belief being drawn the more surely into their toils. It was only in the beautiful creation of Max Piccolomini that Schiller allowed himself to gratify his own idealism.

If Schiller saw tragic suffering in the glamour of the heroic endurance it evoked or the spiritual purification in which it issued, to Goethe it was only tolerable at all as the passing condition of a final reconciliation or redemption, a discord justified by the harmony it prepared. Faust had to be saved, and Mephistophiles to lose his wager ; and when in *Iphigenie* he borrowed the motive and form of a Greek tragedy, it was significantly from that less usual type in which the sufferings are only transient and do not involve death at all. And it was to the least harrowing among the supreme tragedies of Shakespeare, the one where the hero's death most resembles a triumph, and where spiritual substance most outweighs outward event, that Goethe was most powerfully and continuously drawn. *Hamlet* plays in his creative art a yet larger part than *Macbeth* in Schiller's. In *Hamlet* he found, precisely, a drama in which all the outer happenings are subordinate and subject to one intense personality which pervades and saturates the whole. This personality, too, as he interpreted it, was singularly congenial to his own ; and the sensitive idealist in Hamlet communicated something of its quality to Werther, Tasso, Meister, and Faust, where the English temper, and whatever is English in

[1] *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe*, No. 249, 28 Nov., 1796.

Shakespeare, are most conspicuously remote. In *Werther's Sorrows* as in *Hamlet*, the tragedy has its roots in man's nature, not in the outer situation, and the changing pageant of his thought and passion absorbs us even more exclusively. Werther is more akin to Rousseau's Saint-Preux, than to Shakespeare's Hamlet. He is far from being equally unlike Hamlet as Goethe understood him. There are few outward traces of Shakespeare, it is true. It is not Shakespeare, but Homer or Ossian who feeds or allays Werther's passionate dreams; it is not Hamlet's circumstances and fate but his own, or Jerusalem's, that Werther reflects. Nevertheless, we are justified in saying, with Gundolf,[1] that as *Hamlet* is the first, so *Werther* is the first German example of the tragedy derived not from frustrating fate but from simply being oneself. It is therefore in substance a series of pictures of Werther's soul in its changing moods; the events are wholly subordinate to this. His 'Letters' do not, like those in *Clarissa* and the *New Heloïse*, convey a story as seen from several angles; they are outpourings of individual passion and thought from which the story may be gathered, like the monologue of Hamlet, and the unique intensity of those utterances had never before been so nearly approached. *Faust* is a creation enormously more complex. But the soaring genius of the Renascence in Hamlet is more vividly suggested in Goethe's *Faust* than in Marlowe's; while his beautiful, pure and noble nature, as Goethe conceived it, 'without the sensuous strength that makes the hero,' foreshadows Tasso, the frail and delicate poet, incapable of coping with the world. Wilhelm Meister, into whose mouth Goethe put his own memorable interpretation of Hamlet, is himself a kind of Hamlet who through the jostling of experience overcomes the disability to which Hamlet succumbs, mastering himself and mastering thereby the art of life. That in his case the 'precious jar' was not shattered by the young oak,[2] that he was not ruined by failure but won his way through it to moral health, marks the final divergence between the greatest of the Elizabethans and the greatest of German poets; a divergence, ultimately, between two views, alike rooted in the heart and intellect of man, and both perhaps necessary for complete wisdom, the unflinching recognition of the reality of evil, and the faith that in and for the spirit of man it will somehow be overcome.

[1] *Shakespeare und d. Deutsche Gedanke: Goethe.*

[2] *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, IV., ch. 13.

Goethe was not only the first to offer an interpretation of the *Hamlet* problem, he was the first to recognize that the play presents a problem at all. His solution could scarcely satisfy; but it was immensely stimulating, and it gave the cue to the century of *Hamlet*-interpretation in which Germany was beyond rivalry to lead the way. 'Hamlet is Germany,' Freiligrath was to cry long after Goethe's death; for the German Hamlet had indeed acquired the impress of the strength and the weakness of the German people, of its indomitable power of thought, and the political impracticability which provoked von Bulow's well-known gibe. There is no reason whatever to suppose that this tragic disproportion at all reflected the mentality of Shakespeare himself. But, from causes we can but imperfectly explain, he at least pregnantly suggested here that antithesis of outer and inner, of the world of action and the world of thought, which is so acutely, often so tragically, interwoven with the history of the German people. For the political history of Germany is not a record of the progressive consolidation of a polity, like that of France or England, but of a series of magnificent successes followed by chaotic failures. The empire of Charles the Great, the empire of Frederick II. and Charles V., the empire of Bismarck, were dazzling moments, followed by the anarchy of the later middle ages, the ruinous convulsion of the Thirty Years' War, and the tragic downfall of yesterday. But through it all, the German from his pensive citadel, mystic, saint, or thinker, has continued to proclaim the supremacy of spirit, anticipating in varied accents Hamlet's assertion 'that nothing is good or bad, but thinking makes it so.' Luther proclaimed that religion is measured by the faith in the soul, not by the number of its good works; Kant interpreted experience as a raw datum moulded into significance by the mind; Goethe symbolized man as Faust, who can deliver his soul from Mephistophiles by its own energy daily renewed.

With this German mentality the Shakesperean Hamlet had historically no connexion or affinity. Hamlet, by nature and training, is a man of the Renascence, soldier, scholar, courtier at once, cultivating body and mind, as the Renascence did, in harmonious equipoise. But in Hamlet as we see him, an overwhelming experience has destroyed this equipoise, paralysed his power to act and stimulated to morbid energy his power of thought; in other words, has given him an arresting but accidental analogy to the German type. His inner

world of perplexed half-shattered idealism divides him from the shallow court-life about him, as Faust's brooding quest of absolute knowledge divides him from the pedants of Wittenberg. It was perhaps not an accident that Shakespeare sent Hamlet to study at Dr. Faustus's university.

Only in Russia has the character of Hamlet had a comparable significance, and this in two ways. The most poignantly individual person in Shakespeare, he became a powerful weapon in the hands of the opponents of French classicism and its reduction of character in tragedy to ideal types. The great Moscow critic of the 'thirties, Bjelinski, put the antithesis with the sharpest point in his important Hamlet critique of 1838. 'The French once thought (and even to-day they think, though they are convinced otherwise) that the ideal is a collection of traits of a single idea scattered all through nature. . . . Shakespeare is the absolute contrary of this pitiful theory; and that is why the French even to-day cannot make him their own, though they imagine they are enthusiastic for him.' One of the lines of demarcation between the Russian imagination and French classicism is here drawn with precision. But the character of Hamlet had a deeper appeal for Russia. The Russian intellectual, like the German, found himself in Hamlet and salved his impotence under the yoke of the Tsardom with that example of 'weak will in the presence of duty.'[1] Goethe's reading of the character was in 1838 a commonplace in Russia.[2] In that year, however, the great actor Mochalov played the part to crowded houses in Moscow. Bjelinski took occasion, in the critical essay just noticed, which remains one of the most remarkable interpretations of the character extant, to raise his voice, also, against Goethe's theory of the frail and delicate Hamlet. 'Hamlet is not a frail character; his weak will is not native, but induced; he is a strong man paralysed by the sapping of his faith in men.'[3] But Goethe's Hamlet had too many replicas in Russia not to hold its ground. Turgenjev, Dostojevski, and Nekrassov again and again painted these highly educated, brilliant, ineffectual Russian Hamlets; and Turgenjev in a

[1] *Hamlet, drama Šekspira, i Mochalov v roli Hamleta.* (Collected Works, I., 185.)

[2] Bjelinski, in the article quoted above.

[3] *u.s.*, p. 167 f.

pregnant essay contrasted their intellectual hesitancies with the unreasoning valour of Don Quixote.

IX.

Goethe led the way in the profounder penetration of Shakesperean character. But it was reserved for the Romantics to illuminate an aspect of his characterization for which neither Goethe nor Schiller had eyes. Goethe had condemned Mercutio and the Nurse as tasteless excrescences in the tragic story. Schlegel not only defended the introduction of grave and comic characters in the same drama (which Johnson had already done), but defended it on grounds of dramatic technique, which he had signally failed to do. He saw that Shakespeare carried further than any predecessor the art of making his characters assist in the portrayal of one another, by 'so combining and contrasting them that they serve to bring out each other's peculiarities.'[1] The gravediggers are there not because, as Johnson said, 'the vulgar is in real life found close to the sublime,' but because they illuminate one facet of the soul of Hamlet.

But the Romantic theory of art was not derived mainly from artistic experience. Their æsthetic, as Lanson said long since, was shot with metaphysical ideas, thanks especially to the contagion of Schelling, with which the thought of Coleridge, not on art only, was to be so deeply imbued. Shakespeare's union of tragedy and comedy, of sublime and grotesque situations and persons in the same play became a salient example of the 'union of opposites' which it was precisely the characteristic of poetic genius to achieve. Hence the comic intrusions which Voltaire and Goethe had scoffed at, and Johnson had excused, were at length vindicated as the very tokens of consummate art.

With the French Romantics, the blending of tragic and comic motives owed less to metaphysics and more to polemics; this was the most provocative point it presented to the still vigorous dogma of classicism. In the violent imagination of Hugo it assumed its extremest form, and the Preface to Cromwell proclaimed the sublime and the grotesque as the sovran principles of Romantic art. So naked an antithesis was a poor substitute for the profound psychology of Shakespeare; but it

[1] *Dramatic Literature*, Lect. xxiii.

enabled Hugo here and there to disguise his psychological nudity with a particoloured cloth of opposite traits, as in his prose character of Cromwell himself. It was a Romantic poet rather than a historian who 'turned over the pages of chronicles and memoirs' in search of the true Cromwell; and it was a Romantic poet who saw emerge, instead of the homogeneous criminal of Bossuet, 'a complex, heterogeneous, multiple being, made up of all the opposites, a mixture of much good with much evil, full of genius and of pettiness, a sort of Tiberius-Dandin, the tyrant of Europe and the plaything of his family . . . a hypocrite and a fanatic, grotesque and sublime.'[1]

Applied by a more delicate hand, and in a more Shakesperean vein of poetry, the antithetic or paradoxical way with character reappeared at the close of the Romantic period in the Comedies, already noticed, of Musset. Popular melodrama had long before appropriated the rich contrasts of Shakesperean comedy. It was reserved for Musset to achieve a genuine counterpart to *Much Ado* or *Twelfth Night* when he admitted his clerical buffoons and comic uncles and waiting ladies into the delicate vibrating love story of Cécile or Camille, or when he imagined these characters themselves, exquisite blends of passion and caprice, exciting a sympathy never far from a smile and sometimes near to tears; or when, as in two of the most charming of these pieces, the whole economy of the play starts from the declared paradox of the central figure—the Caprices of Marianne, and the personified antithesis of the Marquis.[2]

Musset seized with delicate skill a few Shakesperean traits, and reproduced them in a form completely and exquisitely French. But his range was too limited, his psychical vision though lucid and just within its limits too superficial, to give him access, as a poet, to the deeper recesses of Shakesperean characterization; and it was in their psychology, habitually crude, bizarre, or meretricious that the French Romantics, for all their ardent homage to Shakespeare, were least Shakesperean. They could capture Shakespeare's dreams, but their brilliant fancy could not compass his boundless mastery of the real mind of man.

[1] Preface to *Cromwell*.

[2] 'C'est un diplomate qui est assez bon musicien; un poëte connoisseur en étoffes; un chasseur très-dangereux pour la haie du voisin, très-redoutable au whist pour son partenaire; un homme d'esprit qui dit des bétises; un fort galant homme qui en fait quelquefois' . . . etc.

On ne saurait penser à tout, sc. ix.

When Romanticism, at the end of the 'forties, collapsed under the assaults of Parnassians and realists, it was the poetry of exact knowledge which killed their poetry of romantic dreams. And it was precisely the psychology of Shakespeare, wrought into the living stuff of character, that fascinated the great realists of the following generation. Flaubert and Maupassant, Zola and Daudet, were eager and devoted readers, and to the Shakesperean drama of character belongs an undoubted if indefinable share in the creation of the modern novel of 'temperaments.'[1] And now at length the drama of temperament *par excellence*, *Hamlet*, acquired in Bourget's novelistic pictures of tragic deliberation and dilemma, and elsewhere, the support which it had won a century before in Germany, and which the Lemaîtres and the Sarceys of French dramatic criticism continued to refuse to it on the stage.

X.

To sum up. The history of Shakespeare on the continent is substantially the history of the reactions he has evoked in France, Germany, and Russia. How much deeper than the struggle for territory or power the historic antagonism of the first two reaches is nowhere better seen than in the sharply contrasted fortunes of Shakespeare in their respective cultural milieus.

In France he has had to encounter not only a great and splendid national tradition in drama but a society of pronounced mental habits unfavourable to his unreserved acceptance ; imperious in its insistence on logical clearness and simplicity, impatient of the indeterminate and the gradual, easily bored by poetic fancy, promptly offended by brutal truth, trying art as well as manners by standards of civility and breeding, at whatever cost to sincerity and nature, and slow to acknowledge, or even to imagine, foreign excellence of a kind unlike its own. In the French theatre, where these unfavourable conditions were and are present in their acutest form, Shakespeare has even to the present day made little headway. If a succession of reformers from Voltaire to Musset, have perceptibly enriched its repertoire with Shakespeare's aid, it has been by showing that unsuspected kinds of dramatic pleasure could be had without infringing the old conditions.

[1] Baldensperger, *u.s.*, p. 210.

In Germany, on the contrary, Shakespeare encountered a people standing at the beginning, not at the close, of its great age; a people feeling its way to nationhood, and to self-expression; a people both ethically and racially akin to his own, and in its art and literature even more disposed than they to put imagination and passion above logic and consistency, rich content above clear outline. In the Shakesperean drama this people instantly hailed a liberating ideal; and in spite of the reserves made by her own two great poets, he remained an inalienable possession of her stage, and a chief source of every attempted reform till the close of the nineteenth century. And for Goethe and Schiller themselves the creator of Hamlet is a presence not easily put by.

In both countries, further, Shakespeare from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, reacted upon culture outside the drama. In France it was the clear, positive, inexhaustibly observant portrayer of life whose influence bore fruit. Historians found the suggestion of historic scenes in his dramas of Plantagenet history; the masters of realism studied his psychology of character.

In Germany, on the other hand, it was the Shakespeare of faery and of philosophical suggestion who awakened far-reaching response. His folklore became a main source of the science of German mythology; his profound characterization enriched not the realist novel but the new philosophy of æsthetics. And when these powerful attractions had largely spent their force, the elucidation of his work and life remained to become the inexhaustible subject-matter of a new branch of literary *Wissenschaft*, in which Germany for many years led the way, and on which she has left the ineffaceable stamp of her indomitable industry and immense intellectual power, and also of the erudite obsessions which they have fortified and diffused.

If France, even in her moments of reverent approach, has stood aloof from a genius felt to be fundamentally alien to her own, Germany has often projected her own image upon the object of her homage and seen him as more sentimental, more mystic, more metaphysical, than he was.

In Russia the fortunes of Shakespeare were determined by the circumstances and mentality of a small but brilliantly gifted society. Until 1840 they were with rare exceptions far less significant. But she may claim to have brought to the appreciation of Shakespeare a

temperament more imaginative than the French, more positive than the German. Until the close of the Romantic age she remained subject to the domination first of French then of German ideas. The German Shakespeare helped (through the medium of Bjelinski, Polevoi, and others) to emancipate her from the French. Of her own emancipation from both, in the latter half of the century, and the inceptions of an epoch of imaginative creation unmatched elsewhere, the dramatic masterpiece of her greatest poet was an early prognostication.

In two features, however, nineteenth-century Russia stood alone among the states and commonwealths of Europe: her absolute Tsardom and her simple yet strangely gifted peasantry. Sensitive Russian eyes, inured to these conditions, saw the great Elizabethan, in whose land 'not Amurath an Amurath succeeds, but Harry Harry,' and whose country-folks are either dullards or humorists, from angles more extreme, in different senses, than the more analogous residue of Europe. To men of strong and rich vitality, deprived under the Tsars of all voice and social action, Shakespeare gave, in the moving words of one of them 'the possibility of feeling oneself a thinking being, capable of understanding historic problems and the conditions of human life.'[1] One man of supreme genius, on the other hand, found that ideal consolation not in any exotic and remote creations of 'brain-spun' poetry, but in the child-like intelligence and unspoilt heart of the Russian people at his door. Tolstoy's repudiation of Shakespeare was important not for what it explicitly denied but for what it implicitly affirmed. What he rejected Shakespeare for not possessing, the German Romantics had declared to be the very core of his drama. These opposite paradoxes result from the range and complexity of a genius the diverse facets of which are seldom equally luminous for different eyes, and where the most elemental instincts of man have place beside his highest reach of ethical vision. To have irradiated by imaginative creation so vast a compass of human experience is a chief glory of Shakespeare, and the principal source of his manifold contribution to the making of Europe.

[1] P. Annenkov (1874); quoted Lirondelle, *u.s.*, p. 216. Fifty years before, Shakespeare had inspired in Pushkin an optimism promptly crushed by events: 'We will not be superstitious nor one-sided, like the French tragic poets, but watch the tragedy [of the Decembrists, 1825] with the eyes of Shakespeare.' Letter to Baron Delwig; quoted Pokrovsky, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, xliii., 174.

THE SOUL OF CITIES.[1]

BY THE EARL OF CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES, K.T.

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DOES physiognomy reflect the soul? Does the soul always govern physiognomy? Ruskin used to tell us that those who produce beautiful things must themselves be beautiful in character. Let us never contest a fallacy at once so attractive and so inspiring.

When the Roman Empire entered upon that tragic period in which the Barbarian hordes began to assert their mastery, when Rome had been sacked by Alaric, when Spain and Gaul were being overrun by irresistible tribesmen, and the sinister shadow of Genseric was about to loom up behind Carthage, St. Augustine composed his famous book "de Civitate Dei," in which he drew a vivid picture of the new City of the Soul, which was to erect its superstructure above the ruins of the older and saddened world. Like Aristotle he looked upon the city as a living entity, as a place where mankind must lead a common life for a noble end. And such a city would be no mere aggregation of houses, but rather a reunion—not only the place of domicile, but the focus of home life, with its public duties and its private enterprise, with its government and religion responding to the higher needs of the community, and amplifying the call of the birthplace by the far-flung duties of patriotism and world-wide responsibility. And throughout the history of our race the ingenuity and ambitions of mankind have been manifest in their cities. All men want to build. After the nomadic leader developed into a pastoral chief, his first impulse was to erect a permanent shelter: until then he had enjoyed no leisure to build, but he learned how to sit still: then came the constitution, the formularisation of his religious beliefs, and worship gave its primary

[1] A lecture delivered in the Manchester Art Gallery on Friday, the 3rd October, 1924, under the auspices of the Arundel Society.

impetus to creative art. All kings want to build. It is the most continuing passion of Emperor, Mogul, and Pope. Their lineaments are mirrored in their palaces and cathedrals; our characters can be read in our streets and squares and suburbs. Our cities are influenced by climate, scenery, geology, site, occupation, by the style, colour, and employment of materials, and thus acquire a degree of personality, emphasised by the character of a dominant style, and to a less palpable extent by the sentiment of their inhabitants. Often indeed towns are too incoherent to be personified, because like their inhabitants they lack countenance and defy characterisation. Towns like people are vapid, neutral, or colourless, jumbles of contradiction and aimlessness; but even so they may be typical of a race. And a town is a very secretive personage. At first we may think its character its easily defined; but be cautious. There are contradictions and diversities which may lead us astray in our assessment of man or city; and the city seldom reveals its character to the first impression. Bruges may sleep, Stirling may frown, Venice may enchant, Paris may smile: but one must search diligently, analyse a sequence of competing elements, and even then it is often difficult to detect fundamentals. Paris used to be called the Gay City. To-day I suppose we apply the epithet more generally to her satellites along the French seaboard. Examine their gay laughter and you may see that the happy smile of these forbidding places is often akin to a rictus.

When I was young and active I used to make a practice of climbing the highest tower in every foreign town I visited for the first time, in order to get a bird's-eye view of the place. Poised a hundred yards above the streets, one felt a sort of mastery, a sense of possession. Instinctively one's first glance travelled far afield, out into the surrounding country dependent on the town, and intersected by the road system converging towards the centre;—reaching the gates, entering the town itself, distributing themselves in those concentric rings which mark the successive extensions of urban life and fortifications. After casting one's eyes over the sea of roofs one ultimately peeped into the abyss far below, into some market square or forecourt where citizens intent on perambulation, resembled an anthill, though seemingly less methodical in purpose. Much can be learned from these high places, though only physical aspects present themselves to the eye. Roofs are eloquent and do not always withhold a glimpse

of an interior ; but broadly speaking the guidance one receives from these high-level surveys is general in nature—the scale of the city, the sweep of its river, the pulse of its arteries—those ruling features, be they symbols of religion, warfare, commerce, or seafaring, which control the destiny or govern the sentiment of a community.

Of course these physical aspects which in their essence form the problem of town-planning, influence the life and habits of the citizen, just as the sentiment of the community shows itself in the organisation of the town. We should organise our towns as we do our businesses. The latter are reasonably efficient notwithstanding our habit of self-depreciation : but our individualism in business affairs has blinded us to the need of organising our communities, just as the average architect concentrates his effort upon the building he has to design without due deference to the affinities of the township as a whole, or even to the permanent buildings in the vicinity. I like an architect to be a good host and his building to pay heed to neighbourliness : and he is ill-advised to neglect these amenities. A vast building has just been erected near a little church, towering over it ; but the little church still holds her own and her gigantic neighbour looks like a hyperpachic baby.

Let us descend from the tower with its entrancing views and the dreamland perspectives of Mount Pisgah. We are back at our starting-point : we are on a pavement, that great leveller, but without letting our soul cleave unto the dust as did the Psalmist's—*adhaesit pavimento*. Assume we are in the centre of a town, in the Square, the Market, the Piazza, Place, Platz, or Plaza. We are at the pivot. All towns need a central point just as every town requires a frame. On the whole the Italian apellation of Piazza seems most apposite for the area to which traffic must flow and from which it has to be redistributed. The centre of the town was the Agora, Forum, Parliament, Exchange, the meeting-place of all and sundry whether for purposes of politics, religion, or commerce. In England this focal point usually occupies the old market-place and retains the original name. Elsewhere the dominant building is a church, fortress, or palace, but in most cases the piazza was the scene of the crucial episodes in the life of a town. Turbulence, exhortation, persecution, faction fighting, the struggle for municipal or national freedom, the religious procession and pageantry of art, always supplemented by the process of unemotional trade—such is the history of the average piazza of the average

mediæval town. The influence on public life of this open space, hedged in by some great building, has always been marked. The piazza requires enclosure, a sense of public privacy, otherwise the area becomes a mere junction. Here and there the piazza is so much protected that it is no more than a courtyard from which wheeled traffic is excluded—such as the calm and dignified Exchange Flags of Liverpool, and the ancillary squares of Verona or Avignon.

From the piazza we emerge into the street, a passage-way hedged in by houses. In New York a street can be ten miles long without beginning, centre, or conclusion: elsewhere it is some wayward meandering track conforming to the lie of the land, or again a sequence of palaces—Pall Mall or the Via Nuova at Genoa. In the ideally designed city the street would be laid out before a house was planned; but in our own haphazard congeries, it just comes into being by the erection of buildings which consequently seem to disclaim relationship with the street; while the street in turn wearily accepts the houses as part of the dull day's work. But the street as street has its own functions to fulfil, not as a thoroughfare along which one wants to hurry *ut celerrime*, but as the approach to each frontage in its entire length. One should only be less proud of residence in a great street than of citizenship of a great city. Many people (perhaps most) think it axiomatic that the street should have a terminal point, and should end in the vista of some public building of character. Paris is the classic example, where under the control of Baron Hausmann, an engineer rather than an architect, streets were cut, diverted, and directed with this specific purpose. Undoubtedly such a practice gives value to indifferent buildings, and enhances the importance of the street itself by conveying the impression of an objective. No street can seem quite vacuous or indeterminate if some big church or public building provides a logical and imposing conclusion, even if 99 out of 100 people intend to pass it by. In point of fact the radiation of Hausmann's streets was partly designed for convenience in handling an excitable population :—most towns were originally founded on the basis of strategy or commerce—and modern Paris is a little too stiff in applying principles of perfection. I become less enamoured of these rigid syllogisms. There is great charm in the irregular terminals so common in Southern Germany—I can even forgive the hopelessly false alignment of St. James's Street as it runs down to St. James's Palace, and it is some-

times urged that the oblique approach to St. Paul's Cathedral enhances the stature rather than curtails the dignity of that masterpiece.

Not indeed that I wish the street to lack personality—far from it. The ideal street while serving its purpose as an easy thoroughfare should keep the wayfarer's interest active, should surprise him from time to time by unexpected pleasures, rather than keep his eye fixed on some *bonne bouche* at its termination. Herein lies one charm of the curved street, an idea almost unknown to the geometricians from Hippodamus in B.C. 450 to Baron Hausmann in 1860. Whitehall and High Street, Oxford, or the curved thoroughfares along the river frontages of Pisa, Amsterdam, London, or Vienna, keep the mind alert as fresh views and perspectives emerge. The great circular boulevards which have replaced walls in old fortified towns—Moscow or Paris, have a somewhat similar merit, except that being so far from the centre of the city there is seldom anything to arrest attention.

Fully curved streets must be exceptional, but the straight road can have its own paradoxes, and nowhere is the unexpected more frequent than in Nuremburg, where the old fifteenth century town lives in triumphant alliance with a young commercial community as big as Bolton, Blackburn, and Oldham combined. I doubt if there is a single building of importance in Nuremberg which fulfils the laws of axial planning: for to right or left or diagonally one passes churches in market squares, forecourts of public buildings, gardens, fountains, recesses, projections, irregularities of every description, and yet the effect is altogether fascinating. Camillo Sitte argued that these irregularities were much more the result of conscious town-planning and designing than we acknowledge. I question it. The casual routes through the centre of an old town are largely governed by levels and angles which followed primitive footpaths, while the outer range of narrow and crooked streets marks boundary lines of cultivated property which was afterwards incorporated in the town. Even to-day we trace market gardens and country villas in the trees, sometimes though too rarely, left along new suburban thoroughfares. Were Sitte's thesis correct we should have many more records of municipal regulations and bye-laws, and the disputations they provoke. It is sufficient to hold that the mediæval architect had the instinct to profit by the irregularities affecting his building lines, while the homogeneity of style in any given period preserved that congruity of general aspect

which gives unity and character to these old towns, in spite of daring variety in individual treatment. Anyhow we may learn the lesson that dissymmetry need not alarm us unduly, so long as we maintain the affinities of what is best in our civic life.

Thus the street need not be criticised because its features are only broken by lateral views of monuments and open spaces. One requires these spaces, these expansions, for reasons I need not refer to to-night. One wants a view. I dislike the parsimonious town which is so congested that one never gets a chance of looking it in the face. One wants to see a town as one approaches it ; but we would also fain be able to look out of a town. Here in Britain we have few of those hill-towns of Italy, Greece, or Spain, which impose themselves upon us when miles away, and from which one can command hills, valleys, and plains ; sunsets ; often enough the sea, that privilege of scenery at once infinite and sublime which offers itself to us without effort or reserve. Our great towns have mostly settled in the plains and along estuaries, far removed from mountains. Nature is a poor accessory to our urban virtues. How differently places respond to varying phases of light and shade ! Murano, for instance, or Aigues Mortes, never seem to be aroused till sunset. Edinburgh is at her best in the Autumn twilight. For Melrose, the Lago di Nemi, and the Colosseum, a full moon. Whistler used to be enraptured by the vague and misty ambiguities of the Thames. I have heard that architecture is never so solemn, perhaps so theatrical, as when the thunderstorms of the Himalayas illuminate those vast monasteries perched on the mountain crags of Thibet. Yes, like ourselves, architecture is susceptible to these influences of the weather and the seasons, reflecting the exhilaration of the sunshine, the depression of the storm. Rain, snow, thaw, fog, hurricane—all leave their impression on the countenance of stone. Mankind and his works are ever swayed to bow before the impulses of Madre Natura.

The street leads us out of the town, to the exit, which is also the entrance, to the point which marks the beginning as well as the end of urban life. The gateway excludes the enemy, welcomes the guest : marks the point beyond which the intruder shall not pass, while opening its doors to those seeking refuge. It was an emblem of hospitality, and like the church portal occupied an honoured post, and has always played a crucial part, in the history of the city. The

fabulous Babylon of Herodotus had a hundred gates connected by fifty miles of fortification. Our communities are no longer thus self-contained. Pray where does Manchester begin or Salford end? Where are the Roman gates which once marked the boundaries and emphasised the clear-cut physique of Mancunium, of this ancient foundation? I recall Sir Herbert Warren saying that Manchester has an advantage over Liverpool in that the form of our name records the classical distinction of our ancient pedigree. Had Cicero lived at the appropriate moment, he could have included us in a treatise *de urbibus* as easily as Rome or Alexandria. But all is lost—except philology! and as perchance that memory may play us false, let us pass out of the city gates to the smiling countryside beyond.

After the Fire of London, John Evelyn wanted to preserve the outlines of the ancient city, and suggested that suburbs should be forbidden within ten miles of the *enceinte*, but as in the case of other ideals of that projected reconstruction, apathy took command. In London as elsewhere, the eighteenth century pursued its placid course, bequeathing an achievement of domestic comfort in that array of spacious houses with their conscious sense of intimacy and repose. The tradition ran on into the nineteenth century, and then arose the sudden demand for urban expansion. The suburb as we know it came into being. Its progress was rapid, sensational, and enervating. The deserted village is sad, but the deserted suburb is sadder still,—those areas of endless streets infested with endless houses, uniform where uniformity is not wanted, diversified where systematic handling would have been helpful,—alternately governed by caprice or cupidity, though more often the product of sheer untutored heedlessness: such is the portrait of the vast wildernesses crowding round our great cities yet not forming part of the body politic, being detached from the full corporate life of their ancestress. That is why I call these suburbs "deserted." I have no objection to an artisan quarter as such. On the contrary, zoning of occupation and residence has many merits. The tendency is natural, for it is the outcome of instinctive aggregation. London name-places have come to signify professions and callings—Harley Street, Fleet Street, Lombard Street, Temple, Whitehall, Covent Garden, and so forth. Even whole towns will specialise in some chosen product,—Sèvres, Meissen, Barnsley, Montreux of Winter Sports fame, and there is a bright spot on the Californian

coast of which I cannot recall the official name, but which is known as Moovie City, devoting itself to the break-neck career of compiling cinema films. And towns so to speak specialise in men as they do in output—Baireuth, Stratford-on-Avon, Weimar, Assisi.

But the artisan quarter should be a quarter and not the whole unit. Our tradition is that each house should be a home, one home: and a town of ten or fifteen thousand small houses must be monotonous alike in feature and personality. There can be little play of light or shade in such a welter of identicals. They become caricatures from their very iteration. Even a suburb should be defined, characterised. Even a blank wall can charm by its sense of security or enclosure or intrigue; but cottages by the thousand, or miles of wall connote the poverty of mere multiplication. Good suburbs exist, Toronto, Birmingham, and what Henley used to call "leafy Muswell Hill;" and as time goes on the growth of their young trees will veil what is ugly and enhance whatever deserves praise. But let me whisper one word about another kind of suburb, virtuous but perhaps a little stand-offish, the long-range suburb of Southport, Buxton, or Blackpool. The congestion and drab uniformity of the local suburb is partly caused by the disinclination of the well-to-do townsman to live near his work. His contribution to the development of his own town should be the variety of motive introduced by different requirements of architecture, with the tendency to attract centres of shopping, recreation and leisure, while the public life of each suburb would thereby be diversified extended and enriched. Berlin with its thirty distinct suburbs, Paris with nearly as many, have maintained their direct nexus with the mother-town while developing all their more local associations. This they can and do accomplish without danger of divided allegiance, which in the cases I indicate too often results in a very half-hearted service either to the residential or to the occupational centre. We now devote much attention to suburban problems. Many old mistakes we shall never repeat, but the problem of the existing suburb remains acute—how to infuse variety, life, responsibility, and bring them into closer touch with the corporate life of the greater unit,—in short how to stimulate the *amour propre*, the prestige, and the ambitions of the smaller and more detached community. It is in architecture and town-planning that some of the remedies must be sought.

Nowadays we seldom establish new towns, or if we do we build

them like suburbs. I suppose the golden age of town-planning began about B.C. 150 and lasted for 300 years, during which period at least 120 new towns were founded in Italy, followed by quite as many in the provinces of the Roman Empire. As a rule they were colonies for retired soldiers, or military outposts, which formed the nucleus of defence against the ominous tribal movements on the Northern and Eastern frontiers. This great group of towns came into existence full-grown, designed on the familiar chessboard plan, and laid out in accordance with rectilinear designs which had prevailed since 500 years before Christ. Most of these towns were small, and some of them retain their original dimensions with scarcely a single projection. Both in Spain and Italy these isolated burghs survive, the line of demarcation between town and country being abrupt. Until a few years ago, where Rome suddenly ended the Campagna immediately began, with that immense area of spaciousness—sky above, plains below, mountains beyond—surely the most perfect setting which ever framed a town. Rome still preserves the solitude which is the majestic appanage of great cities.

I often wonder what is the date at which some famous city must have reached its apogee of beauty—not of success and renown—and I am inclined to fancy that the most seductive moment would be that of decline—Ravenna about the year 600, Rome during the Papal exile at Avignon in the fourteenth century, Constantinople in 1450 just before her capture by Islam, Venice when she surrendered her age-long independence at the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797—these in truth are moments of decay ; but at least these cities were homogeneous and had not been disfigured by vulgarisms and inconsistencies. Their old age was decorous and true to type. The soul of man, like the soul of a city chastened by distress, surveys byegone distinction with the retrospect of melancholy day-dreams, with the hope, perhaps with the expectation that the future may be kind and that from the ashes of a noble tradition, the new and more glorious city shall revive. If as is probable these cities were less beautiful in the heyday of their prosperity than in more troubled times, history teaches us that a Renaissance is at the command of those who know how to grasp their opportunities. After the completion of the Parthenon, Athens may have been a little too perfect for real perfection so far as her central monuments were concerned. And it is well to remember

Haverfield's verdict on the town as a whole—that in all its later history Athens was an almost oriental mixture of splendid public buildings with mean and ill-grouped houses . . . and that its streets, narrow and tortuous, unpaved and unlighted, were more like a chaos of mud and sewage than even the usual Greek road (of to-day). Not only did the Parthenon and its adjacent masterpieces lack the loving patina of time, but the gilding and polychromacy of their statues and architectural detail must have combined to give a garishness—I dare not use the more fitting term, which to our eyes would discount the excellence of form and even the purity of line. The mellowed Parthenon was still practically intact in 1687 when it was bombarded by Venice, by the great-grandsons of Titian, Tintoretto, Sansovino: and I imagine at that time the building still retained its supreme and ineffaceable character.

Rome too in the splendour of the Augustan age must have looked very raw. One knows how leisurely is the process of discolouration of marble in the Italian climate, and marble had become the medium of expression in their chief buildings: the newness of the Forum, Palaces, and Baths, the unrelieved and blazing whiteness of the Colosseum (presumably as glaring as that new national monument in the Piazza Venezia),—all the spickness and spanness of modernity—No! The affectionate embrace of centuries was required to caress this masonry, to harmonise its outlines, to soften its texture and to deepen its tone. And one other thing would have afflicted us in Rome (though no more than elsewhere), namely the ruthlessness with which older monuments were sacrificed. Modern investigations are revealing the ancient Rome which was so heartlessly covered up by the great builders: not even the most sacred and historic remains were spared. But it has always been so. Rome herself was pillaged for materials for the construction of Santa Sophia, which in turn was looted by the Crusaders who melted the bronze statues to make into bells. As for the history of the old Basilica of St. Peters, it is tragic how one of the most significant buildings of Christendom was smashed up, with a haste which in itself was an indecency, and to this day scores of Papal tombs lie mutilated or forgotten in the crypt. About this time Pirro Ligorio was describing the best method of grinding up antique statues for the manufacture of lime.

The disclosure of the old ground plan of Rome shows that the

ancient city as we now know it, was in itself the reconstruction of an earlier town, which had replaced one if not two primitive settlements. The older classical towns of Greece and Italy seldom if ever show their original town planning. They differ from the Colonist towns, the really new cities founded afterwards, but like these places they do represent a considered architectural lay-out, though of the reforming rather than the creative type, that is to say obliterations of earlier civilizations rather than building on virgin soil. Foundations may survive, at least in the form of rubble and débris. Some of the most curious towns in the world, small clay cities rising from the desert plains of Western Asia, resemble sugar cones standing on level ground, their height being composed of ruin superimposed on ruin,—generations, centuries, æons of successive reconstructions. The lowest foundations of Jerusalem are seventy feet below the present level of the soil. The Rome we see is a relatively modern town, few classical buildings having survived as intact as the Parthenon for instance, or the Pyramids, or the hillside temples of Sicily, while the early Christian structures have been bamboozled and sophisticated beyond recognition. It is even said that classical Rome has so far vanished that hardly any street line of to-day follows an original Roman road. Nor can we be surprised. Rome was sacked by her invaders, sacked by her own Generals, and in the intervals of peace was sacked by her own rulers and inhabitants. She was the most prolific quarry in the world. But her proud indomitable soul survives. It is not the visible city so much as its mystic fame,—its Mirabilia of the spirit more than the marvels of handiwork, which have made Rome eternal and an object of worship and veneration. Names constantly change in Rome. The Pantheon is now called Santa Maria Rotonda, but remains triumphantly pagan. Buildings alter their purpose, but jealously cling to some dim feature of their original destination. Though time after time art has shrunk back abashed by the violence of invader and inhabitant alike, yet these classic ruins survive, flayed and fleeced, providing a slender bridge between the old city and the new dispensation. Rome is too sanguine an entity to become a museum-town like Carcassone, but as the diggers dig on, more of the ancient city is being revealed. Antiquity, which was ill-served by the Middle Ages, strives to re-assert her supremacy. But Rome well knows that she is inexhaustible, knows that in departure we always have the consolation of hoping to return and

begin afresh. It is a renewing, a revivifying personality, certain of itself and its destiny. You seem to see confidence in every face you pass up and down the Corso, and well may this be, for Rome has the calm assurance of incontestable and abiding distinction.

The Orthodox Greek Church, which is tenacious of its ritual and nomenclature, calls Constantinople "New Rome," and like the sister capital, Constantinople is built on seven hills. Civilization had been shaken in the West, and Constantine moved his capital to the Golden Horn. His city became a harbour of refuge, ever providing a rallying point, and the achievement of Constantinople is its repulse of besiegers—Huns, Slavs, Persians, Arabs time after time, Haroun Al Raschid the hero of the Arabian Nights, Avars, Russians, Latins, Turks—siege after siege for a thousand years, and only one crucial surrender when the world was stupefied by Muhammed's success in 1453. We know little of Constantinople in its great days. Few physical records have been preserved. The Turk must have destroyed between four and five hundred Christian Churches and establishments —others he converted into Mosques, including Santa Sophia the most grandiose church in the world. Originally founded in the fourth century, it was remodelled by Justinian, the Illyrian ploughboy, in 530. He plundered famous shrines for his material, including Delos, Baalbek, and Athens, and produced this romantic and mysterious building all regardless of the Greek masterpieces still intact across the Ægean Sea. Santa Sophia in fact is replete with orientalisms. The East exercised a potent sway upon the builders, on their mosaic decoration and the somewhat hybrid style of construction we associate with Byzantium. The wealth of its treasury was prodigious. It is in Ravenna that we must seek a pallid and fitful reflexion of Constantinople at its apogee. Ravenna is the microcosm of what we call Byzantine Art,—a tiny little town with a dozen churches, built before 550, and adorned with processions of Saints and Potentates winding along the walls of nave and apse in stiff hieratic procession, gleaming in the reserved brilliance of mosaic executed 1300 years ago. Like her mistress on the Bosphorus, Ravenna was the scene of ceaseless strife throughout the later history of the Empire. Odoacer, then Theodoric the Ostrogoth, then his daughter Amasaluntha whom Justinian attacked, Galla Placidia, the wife, sister, and mother of Emperors, then again the Greeks, the Lombards, Peppin the Frank,

the Venetians, the Popes . . . Charlemagne looted it, Gaston de Foix died there, so did Guido da Polenta, so did Dante: what a sequence of names, what a genealogy in the pedigree of greatness, violence, and genius! The sea deserted the port, withdrawing the lifeblood of commerce and naval enterprise. Like Bruges, or Winchelsea, or Rye, Ravenna settled down to the fastidious obscurity of a dead city, almost with the suspended animation of Pompeii. Ravenna grew lean. Like Ypres as I remember it before the War (the most silent town I ever visited, and doomed to perish in the most diabolical noise of history),—as in Ypres

> The streets like lanes did seem
> Not paved with stones but green. . . .

To-day beyond the Ravenna boundaries, stagnant ditches with a sluggish movement through the marshes replace what was once the invigorating pulse of the sea. Sant'Apollinare in Classe still stands up though in complete isolation, perhaps less erect than formerly: she seems to lament her lost congregations—seems to beg for a crutch, a buttress, a moral support. All Ravenna seems overpowered with fatigue. Theodoric no longer sleeps in his tomb, that Tirynthian sepulchre roofed in by one great stone weighing 300 tons, but his ghost must haunt the Aryan churches he built, passing along the deserted streets and across the lonely piazzas, recalling the stirring episodes of his life, and the vicissitudes of the town he loved so well.

If Ravenna be the shadow of byegone Constantinople, her prototype is now a vicious or cynical mockery. From the moment of her capture by the Turks she has degenerated, no effort being made to honour the venerable evidence of her tremendous history. All is neglected. Dingy, ill-kempt, harsh, notwithstanding the genial efforts of nature, Constantinople has lost her soul during four and a half centuries of corroding and progressive decay, retaining only the sense of power, the inborn faculty of resistance conferred by a site at the junction of two continents, at the confluence of two seas,—the lasting asset of stability in martial resource and diplomacy, which has seldom deserted her possessor. At least she preserves the tradition of inviolability. But were it not for the inspiring presence of Santa Sophia, debased and defamed as it is, one would look upon Constantinople as like one of those towns which Solomon offered as a

gift to Hiram, king of Tyre, but which were refused because they were so dirty and displeasing.

One other great city has a site comparable with that of Constantinople, namely Alexandria, and for the Arts of Peace the situation of the latter excelled; again two seas, two continents, and a hospitable climate, with the added advantages of a peninsula, a great lake, and a fertile river. It was well chosen by Alexander the Great to be the second city of the world. It was laid out by Dinocrates who acquired fame in building the Temple of Diana at Ephesus. But what a long tale of disasters! When the Arabians took the place in 640, they boasted that it possessed 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, and 400 theatres. There is a neatness about this computation which makes me rather sceptical of the Arabian arithmetic—though they may have been right, for I can believe anything about a city so precise and well ordered that its five areas were known by the names of A, B, C, D, and E. The history of Alexandria is a sequence of eclipses. There were 600,000 inhabitants in the days of prosperity, early last century not more than 10,000. Notwithstanding surrenders, massacres, and burnings, the place seems indestructible, always reviving, though she will never again live a life of greatness. She will neither die with decision, nor will she live on in dignified retirement, inspiring the affection aroused by those towns which at first seem dead but in reality slumber. The really dead town, the skeleton town as one may call it, such as Palmyra, evokes a different emotion, for one cannot but lament its catastrophe. In the third century of our era a sudden and overwhelming effacement crushed this rich and sumptuous town, governed by that intriguing character Zenobia, Queen of Odeynath. She was of Egyptian race. She found herself immersed in the whirlpool of passions which led to revolt and civil war, ambitions which produced their crop of assassinations, public anger and family feuds which marked this period of bloody and consistent brutality,—yet an epoch of noble edifices, splendid towns, emphatic souls. Far beyond Damascus and arising from the hot cruel sands, the horizon is cut by the great avenue of columns which formed the processional colonnade nearly a mile long, all that is left of this colossal achievement. The ground is strewn with broken masonry like the rubbish heap of a builder's yard. All the way to Damascus are traces of other vanished towns. Where did the débris of Palmyra go, what

happened to the massive structures of these other places? Doubtless some of their exotic marbles have been exiled and still charm the eye in Aix-la-Chapelle or San Marco, others are hidden beneath the whitewash of Santa Sophia, or incorporated in the Chantreys of Christian Rome. But Zenobia's city is the very emblem of desolation. As a town it is swept from the face of the earth, and what is left merely represents what successive invaders were too tired to overthrow. The elaborate system of water-supply which sustained a large population with its baths and fountains, its flocks and herds, cornfields and gardens, giving the oasis the Syrian name of the Palm-grove, has dwindled down to two tiny springs. Even these rebelled. Their water has turned brackish and refuses to welcome those who visit these gaunt dry bones. The history of fresh water is one constant factor in the history of civilization, but I must not pursue this theme. How forbidding is the picture of Palmyra's grim skeleton! "When one buildeth and another pulleth down, what profit have they then but labour?"

Happily the suppression of liberty does not always involve the extinction of a town. I always think that Venice showed but small evidence of her sustained and spirited love of autonomy when she abdicated to Napoleon. But her victor was irresistible, and Venice had refused to acknowledge the French Republic. Napoleon entered the city in May, 1797, and in the following Autumn the Treaty of Campo Formio brought a long history to its close, and assigned the province to Austria. Three or four years earlier Goldoni, the matchless exponent of Venetian life who had been living at the Court of Louis XVI., was deprived of his pension and died in destitution: so Venice had her grievance against the Republic. Goldoni's interpretation of Venetian life confirms those paintings of his contemporaries, perhaps as living and vivid transcripts of a town and its personality as the art of illustration whether by painting, engraving, photography or film, has ever accomplished. Pietro Longhi, Guardi, the Carlevaris, and a number of less known painters whose biographies deserve reconstruction, have left ten thousand canvases, each giving some view of the town or some phase of its occupation—dry matter-of-fact inventories to the casual observer, but infinitely more subtle and penetrating than one fancies at first sight. These painters of the latter half of the eighteenth century, the last exponents of a glorious tradition,

detected every nuance and recorded every pretty fantasy of their time. "Let no flower of spring pass us by!" Their portraits of the town itself and its scenes of Campo, Church, and Canal, are so true that at every turn along that baffling network of streets, or as one crosses any one of the 400 bridges, the name of the Canaletti springs to the mind. Venice pictorially is the Venice of everyday life, the place to which one may most accurately apply the word "picturesque," —just as San Gemignano, perched among the Tuscan uplands with its little forest of towers hemming in the central Piazza delle sette Torre, is the key to the architectural backgrounds of half the paintings of the Quattrocento. But in Venice the survival is virtually complete, and in the latest school of painters we have the true effigy of the generation which prepared the way for Campo Formio. Venice, to tell the truth, had become a little shabby. The quays and landing steps against which the water lapped as wistfully as to-day, had grown weedy and dilapidated. Russet sails which dotted the lagoons were often torn. Doors, shutters, gondolas, ships—all their paint seems to wear thin, the very roofs are pale and anæmic. We praise Palladio, and Wren, and Arnolfo di Cambio, for making their buildings conform to their purpose, and we chide the later giants, Fuga and Vanvitelli because their churches resemble theatres: and yet here in Venice the palace becomes a tenement and the monastery a warehouse, without apparent loss of dignity and with none of picturesqueness. But if her colouring had become dim, if the ardent tones of the famous Venetian scenes by Carpaccio or Tintoretto had given way to a subdued palette, the inhabitants themselves kept their love for bright clothes and vivacious society. The ordinary scene on the Piazza of San Marco supplies the clue to the enigma of Venetian decay. We see an animated affair. It is partly a gathering of commerce, business men talking to mariners and foreign traders,—Chinamen, Negroes, Levantines, Indians, Northerners, all are there—partly, too, the avocations of local trade by retailers of vegetables and fish; but pervading the whole assemblage and ever mixed up in haphazard confusion, one sees Venice taking the air, promenading up and down as they gossip, laughing at the mountebank, coaxed by the cheapjack, cajoled by the quack doctor, tempted by the peepshow, cheated by them all; conjurers, peasants, hawkers, cutpurses, stroll about among the smart set, here and there a lawyer or a priest, a fantastic medley of life, a kaleidoscope of humanity,

all busy, all idle. Many wear masks in this unending carnival. Perhaps there was something feverish in their gaiety, and concealed beneath those flowing cloaks one may suspect the stiletto. The intention of these shallow souls was towards indolence. The obligations of service had disappeared. Venice had become the Kingdom of the Flâneur. All life was a harlequinade, a little world of make-belief.

The background to these scenes of nonchalance is the staunch unchanging San Marco. Seville Cathedral gives us the sense of spaciousness. In St. Peter's we get the much more commonplace feeling of distance. In San Marco I rejoice because the interior is small. No church so far as I know is better placed in relation to its town than San Marco. Its site is unrivalled in that all activities cluster about it—Government, Palace, Municipio, Prison, Mint, Library, Commerce, Caravanserai :—all men must converge on that Piazza interwoven as it is with the ambitions of every Venetian of every age. The Campanile too, now a frank and honest replica, gave aerial scale which is exactly what the low frontage of the Church and the rhomboid shape of the Piazza require. One is grateful, too, for the calm and reflective outlook which noiselessness ought to confer. No trams ! They are sibilant in Milan. At Naples they shriek, at Bologna they scream like frightened children, and in lots of other places they howl. I remember Walter Pater once saying that when he first visited Florence he felt that he was in a "carpeted city." One might equally apply the happy phrase to Venice.

The collapse of the Campanile in 1902 was a cruel blow, and it was only when the fatal diagnosis was at last pronounced by the engineers, that Venice quite realised its affection for the familiar tower, visible for miles around, and marking from the most remote corner of the lagoons the central pivot and landmark of the province. For several days before the final disaster the Piazza had been crowded with people who hurried in to pay their homage of devotion, to pray mercy for the threatened monument. They pushed close up to the base. Troops were paraded and forced the people back to a safety line, where a strong cordon was maintained till the end. Great fears were felt both for St. Marks and for Sansovino's Libreria Vecchia which is only a few yards from the tower : but when the building fell it subsided on to its own foundations, into itself so to speak, a slow and even deliberate descent which spared its illustrious friends. Never

was dissolution more scrupulous and considerate. Even some of the precious sculpture at the base was afterwards recovered intact.

A few months later when I went to see the débris (ever so much smaller than I expected) I happened to meet a priest of San Giorgio Maggiore, the massive church across the Giudecca canal. He described the closing scenes. He had watched the tragic *dénouement* by day and kept vigil by night. It appears that the bricks had grown desiccated. Their cohesive power had perished, and the tremendous weight of the fabric ground them into powder. Dust to dust. A few hours before the end, *la morte* as he called it, the Tower began to bleed to death. Little streams of water seemed to spurt out, first at one point then at another, sometimes three or four of them at once, and constantly changing their position. After falling a few yards from the wound they vanished, for they were jets of sand from the pulverised bricks which were dispersed when forced into the open air. The priest could see the crowds in the Piazetta at a safe point by the water edge. They were awed. Occasionally low gusts of subdued conversation would come across to San Giorgio, but generally the crowd was silent, assisting at a deathbed. Zanipolo and the great church of the Frari rang the passing bell: and I think he said there was a service on the Piazza. At last the tower collapsed. He described it as if the movement were leisurely, a gesture of fatigue and slow to the point of reluctance. It fell without any apparent crisis, and one may be sure with unconquerable dignity. Then the pent-up emotions of the Venetian crowd gave way, bursting out deep and uncontrollable. This poignant cry of distress, the collective lamentation for a bitter and ineffaceable loss, swept across the broad canal to the sorrowing priest: a cry so heartrending that he must have learnt that the soul of New Venice was true and responsive as ever. And I, too, feel that we may forget the Treaty of Campo Formio.

Towers and towns may fall, towns and towers will rise again: sometimes according to the old pattern, but much more often the effort of a fresh generation or a different race. Not very long ago the Obijway tribe of Red Indians had a settlement on the shores of a huge inland sea, and their humble village of log huts was dedicated to the God of Thunder. Its name was She-kag-ong, now softened into Chicago. It is a curious name, a soft and euphonious name even if it does mean something dreadful; but somehow it does not quite seem to

characterise the town. To use an expression in vogue in Chicago, the name lacks "Pep." This word is not a tribute to the incisive prose of Mr. Samuel Pepys: it is merely the diminutive form of pepper. You will remember how Sir John Falstaff peppered two rogues in buckram suits. Chicago possesses more pep than its easy-going name suggests. It is all pep,—*civitas pepissima*. One likes to read character of citizenship into the name of a city. Sparta will always be a masculine town, Versailles a feminine town. Canberra, the budding capital of Australia, conveys nothing to my mind, except to remind me of something I never encountered before. I am sure it will be a neutral, sexless, pepless place. There is a proverb that the names of neighbouring burghs in the old kingdom of Fife, typify the degree of energy (shall I say of pep) displayed by a workman when engaged on time-work and piece-work respectively. When on time-work he sacrifices to the shrine of Auchtermuchty, Auchtermuchty; but on piece-work to the name of Cupar o' Fife, Cupar o' Fife. What a busy pepful rhythm that is. I am always stimulated by the thought when I pass through Cupar which has thus come to possess what is called a slogan. In old days the slogan was the gathering note of the fighting tribe. Now it is a hybrid nickname—not the thoughtful and discriminating epithets which honoured Italian towns—*Padova la dotta, Genova la superba, Mantova la gloriosa*—other epithets are *fedele, grassa, degna, l'armata*. The slogan is something invented *ad hoc*. Chicago has earned its share of credit, for she pepped away blithely at the recent Convention of Advertisers at Wembley. They were good enough to send me their propaganda. They called it literature. There were fervent appeals to the Goddess of Truth, a certain amount of onomatapœia, and a good deal of familiarity as well: I was not mollified by their frequent terms of endearment. It is all part of the Gospel of Pep. Right or wrong does not matter so long as you repeat it often enough. Pep pays. For instance a seaside resort beginning with the letter B, must call itself Breezy or Bracing:—Blackpool, Brighton, Broadstairs, etc. The initial C? Cromer, Cleethorpes, Cowes for Cruising. Deal, Douglas, they obviously Delight, so do Dungeness and Dover. Dundee and Dublin, with their golden sands, will probably pirate the slogan as well. These publicists are not the first to give new and unearned reputations to towns, or to patent medicines either; but their pleasure in this benevolence is so open and

unconcealed as to conciliate. Yet some places suffer from these enthusiasms. Lots of people fancy that Munich, Yarmouth, and Cheddar do nothing except brew beer, smoke herrings and press cheese. Towns find it hard to live down some idle prejudice. All Montaigne could remember of Urbino was that wherever he went, he had either to climb up or climb down. I have heard the whisper of prejudice directed against Wigan, and quite unjustly. Wigan is a great personality with a homely face. *Voilà tout.* Chicago herself suffers from her prowess in packing pork :—7,500,000 hogs every year, and if maize is cheap the number will rise to 10,000,000. Also 3,000,000 cattle and 4,000,000 sheep are carved, canned, and corned annually. There are side lines in bristles, fertilizers, and glue. It is a horrid vocabulary and a horrid process, however toothsome and succulent the goods ; and this legend of canning is so deep-rooted that people who live quite close enough to Cook County, Illinois, to know better, believe that Chicago's soul has got immersed in the pursuit. Of course it is a busy place. Its briskness is aggressive, its noise indescribable, and its prose diffuse. But Chicago as it emerges from a sequence of disastrous fires becomes more and more a proud city, a city built for and by proud men. There are competing, even conflicting motives, which is common enough—as in St. Andrews between Golf and Learning, in Windsor between a College and a Court, at Doncaster between Industry and Sport. No doubt in Chicago the goal of commercial success is specially magnetic. Nothing is left to chance: but big business apprehends new and vital aspects of leisure. There is a notable and growing public spirit, hampered by the problem of assimilating large and diverse racial elements, but gradually overcoming this sectionalism, and unifying what will one day be the greatest urban community in the world. The structure of the city reflects a strong and vigorous personality, though perhaps a little speculative in method. But decision is seldom absent. The Pyramids look as though they had been built by slaves, Salisbury Cathedral by craftsmen, the fine Woolworth building in New York and similar structures in Chicago, by virile and emphatic minds. Much of the recent architecture in the United States is quite admirable in quality and scholarship, and nearly always strong as well. The future of Chicago is an absorbing theme. Its precocious growth is being controlled with indomitable courage and boundless resource. Chicago has a vast horizon. Its frontage on

Lake Michigan stretches for twenty-five miles, the distance from here to Halifax, and the lake is as big as Scotland.

There are few high towers in Manchester though there are many accomplished chimney-stacks. I have never tested the view. Were I to do so I should naturally recall Leland's observation that Manchester is the "fairest, best builded, quickest and most populous town of Lancashire." How far has the judgment of 1538 been upheld? I wonder what I should see, and moreover what I should not see, for the horizon is circumscribed by a capricious climate and other discouraging features. But Manchester would stand out as a centre of tremendous power and responsibility. A radius of thirty miles from this building must enclose the biggest population for its area in the world. It is a city surrounded by a constellation of towns and villages. For every time the word "town" occurs in the Bible, the word "city" must be used thirty or forty times—cities with their villages, and cities with "suburbs for cattle." Here the term city is justified by scale, and by its close relations with smaller communities, perhaps nascent cities themselves, in the neighbourhood, all connected by commerce and personal affinities, while maintaining the forms and status of complete autonomy. But of the city itself, the central focus of Manchester, what would one see? Firstly of course the site of the new Art Gallery: then perhaps the University and the Rylands Library,—late arrivals, for after a long history we are finishing where Alexandria began,—but striving manfully and with success to overtake lost opportunities, and to provide the equipment which grows more and more vital to every phase of enterprise. Then a long narrow shaft of light would define itself as a stream of water running to the sea, affording direct access to Baltimore or Shanghai or Bombay, and giving a long-drawn perspective to all who can project their minds to the beyond. Descending from the tower one would find oneself in a busy scene, "the quickest town" as Leland said:—so busy that all are pressed for time, so busy that the evening paper appears before high noon, so busy that leisure has become a rush, and repose the most elusive of occupations.

I should learn that Manchester boasts a name which is partly a compliment, partly a soubriquet, "Cottonopolis,"—the city of the fabric that all must wear, a source of comfort and cleanliness and health. It is a grand family of towns which bears the surname "polis":—the

cities of Constantine, of the Emperor Hadrian, of our own good Queen Anne: there is Heliopolis the City of the Sun, Acropolis the glorious summit of Athens, Metropolis and Cosmopolis in general parlance, even Necropolis the most diffused of all, for the City of the Dead has claimed its station in the heart of every living community. Let us admit that Cottonopolis is not always applied to us with the unreserved wish to flatter. It has perhaps a nuance of something drab and smoky, with a suggestion of objectives which exact but little spiritual or intellectual effort. I am glad that Professor Reilly has recently been demonstrating that Manchester contains fine buildings, not merely honest and serviceable structures well suited to their purpose (which alone authorises praise), but buildings notable for harmonious and scholarly design. He has been telling us this, just because so many of them seem to do small justice to themselves, and *a fortiori* to the City as a whole. Their setting is too often inappropriate or apologetic. I quote, but I do not endorse, the dictum that virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set: and the intermediate buildings of Manchester, the interlopers which provide the plain setting, traduce the gems.

We are bewildered by the incongruities, hesitations and congestions of our great cities. "Quelqu'un demandait à un paysan: Avez-vous vu Paris? Non, répondit l'homme des champs; j'y suis allé une fois, mais les maisons m'ont empêché de voir la ville." And what was true of Paris before the advent of Baron Hausmann is even more applicable to big English towns, where the tradition of corporate sentiment in town planning perished a century ago. Fitness of the town was forgotten in searching for fitness of the building, so much so that at last the unit of the building lost cohesion and good sense, and the tradition of beauty and romance which still prevailed in the eighteenth century architecture, grew dim. Many places which enjoy a world-wide reputation for efficiency are inchoate and chaotic as towns. Marked skill is shown in the organization of everything except the fabric of the town itself. We are now emerging from a period which showed lamentable dereliction of this civic duty. We are beginning to take stock. Let me mention the recent case of Sheffield. Mr. Patrick Abercrombie was commissioned by the Corporation to take stock. He has inventoried the place, audited it, surveyed it;—not merely as regards the actual levels and contours, geology, minerals, and watershed,

but he has analysed the influence of these factors upon urban development, passing on to the industrial survey of zoning, transport, and housing, with all the concurrent problems of health, open spaces, and education. We have in effect the basis for a reconstruction plan, improving the town without making the fatal gaffe of surbanising the country. Much can be done for the future of Sheffield, but no more can be recorded of its situation to-day, of the datum line from which all fresh progress must start. Sheffield now knows herself better than any great town of the Empire. Her knowledge is the best guarantee that the errors of yesterday will not be repeated, and that her efforts of to-morrow will be fruitful of public weal. Henceforward Sheffield can never make a mistake arising from faulty knowledge or defective study of existing facts.

I have often thought that every town of note should have its own honorary architect, the consultant to whom questions of policy style or conservation, should be referred,—but I generally conclude that jewels like Rothenburg, Pienza, Delft, or Pickering would never have survived a succession of such appointments. But that every great city should know itself I entertain no doubt. The introspection may produce remorse from which repentance flows, and whence amendment is almost certain. The scale of stabilized error is so gigantic that we can never make good all our follies and omissions, but the future is before us. The Soul of a City may be imprisoned, lying concealed below the surface, yet so near it ; ever striving to arise and grasp the full measure of its hopefulness and endeavour. The Soul will always be there, varying from one generation to another ; at one moment thrilled by success and shining in the virtues of accomplished good ; at another darkened by affliction when the victim of pestilence or the invader ; or else when shackled by the worst of all its enemies, apathy. While the soul of man changes its stature, it is influenced by the environment of its home, just as its home though inherited must reflect the character of its citizen. In the history of an ancient town we march at the very end of a long procession, the rearguard of our ancestry, the vanguard of our successors. Yes, while the present is ours we must learn to look upon the future as more than ever ours too. Our descendants will profit by our forethought or suffer from our neglect, judging us as we judge the earlier figures in the vanished pageant of urban life. What better work can we achieve than make their path more easy, their

homes more intimate, their public buildings more noble, their gardens more green—in a word that the city they inherit from us shall be more honourable, stately, and true. Of all earthly ideals that of the perfect city is the most romantic and inspiring, for it comprises the happiness of our race and the welfare of those who follow. The youngest, those nearest to ourselves, shall be the first to reap the harvest.

> . . . On either side the street
> Which was exceeding fair and wide
> Sweet mansions there mine eyes did meet,
> Green trees the shaded doors did hide.
> My chiefest joys
> Were girls and boys,
> That in those streets still up and down do play
> Which crowned the town with constant holiday.

SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS.[1]

By J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc.

CURATOR OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

THE visitor to the West Coast of Ireland who has an interest in sanctuaries as well as a taste for great scenery (in both of which the island is rich, whether on land or as viewed from the sea) will find on the utmost bound of the encircling ocean certain rocky islets, which lie off the coast of Kerry and are known as the *Skelligs*. These rocks were once the home (if such a word can be used of those who had abjured it) of anchorites who built themselves rude shelters, to which one may climb by equally rude stairs, making a pilgrimage of what was once a penance. If the tourist is interested in the meaning of the name which the islands bear, he will ask himself the question whether it was given by the Celtic would-be saints who migrated thither or whether it was the hardy Norseman who bestowed it, whose fishing vessels still frequent the coast.

In order to answer this question let us sail away from the Skelligs, either to the South or to the North. In the former case we shall have a chance to be wrecked on the Scilly Isles, which lie in the Atlantic to the west of the Land's End; and we shall naturally ask whether *Scilly* is not the same word as *Skellig* and with a similar meaning. If, however, we sail to the North, we may run on the *Skerrywore* or *Great Skerry*, and the philological instinct will at once enquire whether *Skerry* is not the same word as *Skellig*, or, possibly, *Scilly*. (We may compare the variation of the termination in *selig* and *silly*.) If we move further north, we shall come across more groups of rocky islets, bearing the name of *Skerries*, dangerous to mariners, so that sometimes the nautical Providence of a sea-going people has perched a lighthouse on the lofty rock, often at great cost

[1] An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 15th October, 1924.

both of labour and of capital. The *Skerryvore*, for instance, which lies in the Atlantic, off the coast of Argyllshire has a revolving light 150 feet above high water, erected at a cost of £86,977, and is visible for 18 miles. The *Skerries*, off the coast of Anglesey, have a light which is 117 feet above high water, visible for 16 miles. When we ask for the meaning of the name, it becomes clear that it is not Celtic, but Scandinavian. Suppose, for instance, that we turn to Vigfusson's Icelandic Dictionary, we shall find as follows :

> *Sker :* n. gen. pl. *skerja*. dat. *skerjum* (Dan. *skjar :* swed. *skar*. Engl. *skerry*) . . . a skerry, an isolated rock in the sea. . . .

It is natural to enquire further which of the two forms *skerry* and *skellig* is etymologically the elder. Whatever may be the conclusion, the form which occurs in the *Scilly* islands would appear to be intermediate between the other two.

At this point, however, we must go warily : for in the case of the Scilly islands the evidence is at first sight against the belief that the name is ancient ; for we have not only an early series of maps in which the islands are marked, but we have also a long succession of charters in which monastic and other possessions are registered, which do not show the form *Scilly*.

Let us take the maps first. Setting aside those early geographers who supposed they had found in these islands the *Cassiterides* or *Tin-islands* of the Ancients, we have a long line of maps many of which will be found described and facsimiled in Nordenskjöld's great work entitled *Periplus*. For example, among the

Islands on the Coast of England, (p. 48)

we have

Anon (14th Cent.)	Atlas Catalan, 1375 A.D.
Sorlinga	*Sorlinga*
Giroldis, 1426 A.D.	Voltius, 1593 A.D.
Sorllinga	*Sorlinge*

to which may be added a map of Petrus Vesconti of 1318 A.D., *Solinga :* a map of Andrea Bianco of 1436 A.D., *Sorlinge :* a map of Domingo Olivis of 1568 A.D., *Surlingas*. No doubt these cartographers copy one another freely : still we can hardly avoid the conclusion that in the middle ages the *Scilly Isles* were called the

Surlingas, whatever that name may mean. When we turn to the charters, our perplexity is increased. We examine Dugdale's *Monasticon* or Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* or the excerpts from these and other sources in Borlase's *Ancient and Present State of the Islands of Scilly*, and we find that the name is not *Scilly* but almost always *Sully* or *Sylly*.

For example, there is a series of charters, which grant or confirm to the Abbey of Tavistock ecclesiastical rights over the Scilly islands. Borlase, following Dugdale, states the case as follows :

"Whether Scilly was included in the foundations of the Abbey of Tavistock, in the year 961 is, I think, uncertain ; but Bishop *Tanner* (note, p. 69) says that it belonged to that Abby before the Conquest. And yet *Henry* the First grants (does not confirm, which was the usual expression when Houses or Revenues had before been granted) to Osbert, Abbot of *Tavistock*, all the Churches of *Sully*, with their appurtenances, and the Land as the Monks or Hermits held it in the time of *Edward* the Confessor and *Burgald*, Bishop of Cornwall."

It would be easy to recite similar grants and confirmations made by Reginald, Duke of Cornwall, a natural son of Henry I., by Pope Celestian, King John, Henry III., etc., all of them being characterised by similar titles for the Islands. No wonder that Borlase was perplexed. "How came," says he, "all these islands to have their general name from so small and inconsiderable spot as the Isle of *Scilly*, whose cliffs hardly anything but birds can mount, and whose barrenness would never suffer anything but sea-birds to inhabit there ?"

Here Borlase has struck a fresh difficulty : the modern name of *Scilly* does not apply to the individual islands, but only to the most westerly islet, a lofty and inaccessible rock. Is *Sully* then the same as *Scilly*, or is the latter only the name of that particular rock to which the term *Skellig* might appropriately be given ?

Borlase got over the difficulty by assuming that there had been a subsidence ; "when all these Islands above-mentioned made but one, that one went by the name of *Sylle* or some word of like sound and derivation, and having some little islands scattered round it, it imparted its name to its inferiors."

At all events, whether Dugdale and the rest are right that the group is called *Sully*, and whether Borlase is right about a subsidence of the land so as to leave the rock now called *Scilly* in a

detached position, the names are not so remote as to make an identification impossible, and the position of the now called *Scilly* rock is just such as to invite the Norsemen to call it a *Skellig* or *Sea-Rock*. This will not explain the name *Surlenga*, nor some other mediæval forms.

As there is still so much obscurity with regard to the inter-relation of these place-names, we shall not put any further stress upon the possible equation between *Skellig* and *Scilly*. It suggested itself to us, when we were on the Kerry coast in the island of Valentia, a short sail from the islands in the Atlantic. Perhaps the imagination has played us false.

We have now to proceed from the previous observation that *Skellig* = *Skerry* = *Sea-Rock*, and go on to discuss a similar phenomenon in the Mediterranean.

All persons who pass through the Straits of Messina look out, on either side the ship, to see if they can identify either the *Rock of Scylla* or the *Whirlpool of Charybdis*, where Ulysses was so beset with misfortune that he scarce escaped with his life. Scylla the sea-monster with her six demon heads, and her triple rows of teeth, and her barking dogs was in wait for the passing navigator, and actually seized six of his men at one six-fold bite, and tore them from the ship: while on the opposite side of the strait was 'fell Charybdis,' alternately gorging and disgorging three times a day whatever passed across her treacherous waves. The story is one of the great Homeric 'moving pictures,' and wherever Homer thought the scene to lie geographically, the scholars of antiquity have identified the strait through which Ulysses had the ill-luck to pass, with Messina. When we look more closely at the Homeric description we see that stress is laid on the rockiness of Scylla:

"It reaches with its sharp peak to the broad heaven, and a dark cloud surrounds it. This never melts away, nor does clear sky ever surround that peak in summer or in harvest time. No mortal man could scale it or set foot upon the top, not though he had twenty hands and feet; for the rock is smooth, as if it were polished, and in the midst of the cliff is a dim cave, turned to the west, toward Erebus, even where you shall steer your hollow ship, glorious Odysseus. . . . Therein dwells Scylla."

Odyssey, xii., 73 ff.: (A. T. Murray's trans.).

In these terms Circe describes to Odysseus the impending danger, and she does so in fearsome language which may be abbreviated into the formula: 'there is a rock, named *Scylla* on one side of the strait through which you must pass.' The natural suggestion is that *Scylla* means *Sea-Rock* and is a variant of *Skellig* or *Skerry*.

Two confirmations come to us from the side of Greek geography.

The first is that there is another island rock in the Ægean, which bears the name of *Skyros*. Homer calls it 'lofty Skyros' (*Iliad*, i., 664); and the mythologists have many tales to tell of how Thetis hid Achilles in the island, and how Theseus sought to make it a sanctuary, when exiled from Athens. The suggestion arises as to a linguistic relation between *Skylla* and *Skyro* similar to that between *Skelligs* and *Skerries*.

In the next place geographers tell us that a promontory at the entrance to the Saronic gulf, just opposite to 'Sunium's marbled steep,' bore the name of *Skyllaeum*, and here again the mythologists have been at work to tell how *Scylla*, the daughter of Nisos was drowned at this point, and washed up on the promontory. Evidentally *Scylla*, or some closely related form, is the name of the promontory itself, and the lady, whether a malevolent or an unfortunate being, is a later addition. Herodotus (viii., 8) has much to say of a Greek diver, who was employed by the Persians in salving treasures from their wrecked ships after the hurricane, in which their fleet had suffered severely. His name was Σκυλλίης. Is this a nickname, given on account of his association with wreckage?

Now let us return to the Italian coast and to Homer. The Odyssean traditions gather thickly round the southern shores of Italy, where the ancients thought to find *Calypso's Island*, which Homer calls *Ogygia*. All of this search for Homeric and Odyssean sites is imaginary work. What is not imaginary is that if one were to sail from the island Ogygia where Calypso was supposed to hide, in order to pass round the South of Italy and to reach the Straits of Messina, one would have to cross a bay which in our day is known by the name of *Squillace;* it takes its name from an ancient town named *Skylacium*. The bay itself was considered to be dangerous for navigators, and Virgil expressly calls it:

Navifragum Scylaeum (*Æn.*, ii., 553).

Here, then, is *Scylla* again, round the corner, if we may say so, from Messina. And the notable thing is that the bay which Vergil calls *Scylaeus* was known to the ancients by the name :

Sinus Scylacaeus,

which is the equivalent of the modern *Squillace*. Thus there are two forms of the name, which we may represent by *Scylla* and *Scyllace*. We have arrived by geographical considerations at a bifurcation of name which reminds us of *Skerry* and *Skellig*. The final consonant in *Skellig* has turned up in the Mediterranean. But this is not all. The form *Skyllake* was implied in the Homeric account. We remember the picture which Homer paints of the monster surrounded by yelping hounds and herself whining like a new-born puppy. Milton in his lovely lines in the *Comus*, describing the effect of the music of Circe upon the harsh and hideous forms of the Straits, says that :

> " Scylla wept :
> And chid her barking waves into attention ;
> And fell (ὀλοή) Charybdis murmured soft applause."

Here Milton was playing the rationalist ; he wanted to get rid of those dogs and implied that they were the waves. It is a similar explanation to that which has been offered, that *Scylla* herself was an Octopus !

> Milton may be excused, for Vergil had done it before him ;
> Scyllam et caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa ;
> *Æn.*, iii., 432.

No ! not waves : but dogs. We can tell their origin. They are a philological explanation of *Skylake*, made by a popular reference to the Greek word

σκύλαξ = whelp *or* hound.

It is a case of what Waser, in his tract on *Scylla and Charybdis* calls 'Etymologische Spielerei.' Homer knows the explanation, and that *Skylla* is an abbreviated form for *Skylake ;* he says that the monster whines like a newly-born hound (σκύλακος νεογιλῆς). This is just as much 'etymology at play,' as the other accretion to the legend. The dogs and the doglike monster have now disappeared. They

were the invention of Greek etymologists. Homer says so as plainly as possible,

> ἔνθα δ' ἐνὶ Σκύλλη ναίει δεινὸν λελακυῖα·
> τῆς ἤτοι φωνὴ μὲν ὅση σκύλακος νεογιλῆς
> γίγνεται.
>
> *Od.* 12, 85 ff.

"Therein dwells Scylla, yelping terribly.
Her voice is indeed but as the voice of a new-born whelp."

Here are two attempts at philology, one by picking off the syllable -λακ- from the end of Σκυλάκη, the other an identification of the whole name with the word for 'whelp.' We shall presently see something of the same kind in the Homeric treatment of Charybdis.

In the same way the part of the Homeric tale which represents the monster as thrusting forth her hideous necks from the cave in which she dwells, and seizing a mariner for every mouth, is only a further bit of Greek word-play: she is called Skylla, because she *tears in pieces* (σκύλλει), but more likely because she *plunders* (σκυλᾷ) the passing ship. These explanations are not new; they have been suggested in various forms and at various times. What is new is the implication that they are afterthoughts, belonging to a time when the real meaning of *Skylla* had been lost.

We shall see that Homer is quite capable of making such etymologies for himself, if we turn to the parallel case of Charybdis, described as follows:

"But the other cliff, thou wilt note, Odysseus, is lower—they are close to each other; thou couldst even shoot an arrow across—and on it is a great fig-tree (ἐρινεός) with rich foliage, but beneath this divine Charybdis sucks down the black water." Here we notice that the poet is playing with the last two syllables of Charybdis: and he is so pleased with the assonance between the words, that he repeats it twice over.

"Thrice a day she belches it forth, and thrice she sucks it down terribly (ἀναροιβδεῖ δεινόν). Mayest thou not be there when she sucks it down (ὅτε ῥοιβδήσειεν)."

Circe, then, used the word-play in her speech to Odysseus: when the hero comes to the Straits we are again informed that the 'divine Charybdis terribly sucked down (δεινὸν ἀνερροίβδησε) the salt water of the sea': (*ibid.*, 235 f.). The word-play was made easier by the

almost complete vocalic equivalence of *-ρυβ-* and *-ροιβ-*. The assonance which we have detected cannot be accidental; and it is natural to credit it to Homer himself. If that is the case we may, with a good measure of confidence, treat the *whining* of Skylla and the barking of her *dogs* as due to a similar attempt at etymological explanations.

Returning, then, to Odysseus and his dangers, we ask what is the real meaning of *Charybdis*, assuming that we have rightly identified *Skylla* with *Sea-Rock*. There does not appear to have been any solution of this problem, and we might very well abandon the enquiry where it is certain that so many have failed. However, there can be no harm in looking a little further afield.

We start with the Homeric description of a periodic whirlpool in a strait. Some persons have suggested that it is merely a tide-race, such as would naturally impress the primitive navigator when he ventured outside the almost tideless Mediterranean, and passed the Pillars of Hercules. They would lay stress on the recurrence of the phenomenon three times in the day. With a very slight allowance for fancy, this would be the recurring high and low tide, and *Charybdis* would be 'boiling up' at high-tide, and 'boiling down' at low tide.

If, however, we are to go into tidal waters, we will not hastily abandon the idea that *Charybdis* is a whirlpool, with suctional and effusive powers, for there is more chance of finding such a whirlpool in the Atlantic than in the straits of Messina. Suppose, then, that we return to Scotland. Here also we have a famous whirlpool, well-known to geographers as well as to the literary world under the name of *Corrievrekan*. There is much said about this dread whirlpool in the records of the early Irish saints and navigators. We will turn in the first instance to Cormac's *Glossary* as translated by O'Donovan and edited by Whitley Stokes. "COIRE BRECCAIN. 'Breccan's caldron,' i.e. a great whirlpool which is between Ireland and Scotland to the north, in the meeting of the various seas, viz. the sea which encompasses Ireland at the north-west, and the sea which encompasses Scotland at the north-east, and the sea to the south between Ireland and Scotland. They whirl round like moulding compasses, each of them taking the place of the other, like the paddles . . . of a millwheel, until they are *sucked into the depths*, so that the *caldron* remains with its mouth wide open; and it would suck even the whole of

Ireland into its yawning gullet. It *vomits iterum that draught up*, so that its thunderous eructation and its bursting and its roaring are heard among the clouds, like the steam-boiling *of a caldron* on the fire."

The description which Cormac gives of the whirlpool is quite Homeric, and should be quoted by the commentators on Homer to illustrate the poetic terms ; but some one will say, it is too Homeric, and that Cormac, or his sources, has come under the influence either of Homer himself, or indirectly under the influence of Homer through Vergil. We must move very cautiously when we identify whirlpools. Perhaps we shall presently find the Irish writers calling Corrievrekan by the name of *Charybdis !* We must take Corrievrekan to pieces, as we tried, with scant success, to do with Charybdis.

Suppose we turn to the *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (published in 1828) ; we find as follows :

COIRE ; pl.—EACHAN. s.m. 1. A cauldron or kettle, cacabus, ahenum. *Voc.* 89, (i.e. Alexander MacDonell's Gaelic Vocabulary). 2. A circular hollow, embosomed in hills, or a part of one hill so formed : convallis, cavum ingens in monte, vel montibus circumclusum. *Macintyr.* 22 : (i.e. Duncan MacIntyre's Gaelic Songs). *Scot:* Corrie. *Jam.* (i.e. Jameson's Scottish Dictionary). 3. A whirlpool : gurges, vortex, charybdis. *Oss.*, iii., 422 : (i.e. Ossian's poems). Coire bhreacain. A whirlpool near the Island of Jura : "in undosis charybdis Brecani aestibus. *Adamn. Vit. S. Columb.*, lib. i., c. 5.

This is a very instructive entry : it tells us that *Coire* (the Scottish *corrie*) is a word that means *caldron* or *kettle ;* it can be applied to natural hollows in the hills or shores, just as, for instance, we have near the town of Moffat in Scotland what they call a *Devil's Punch-bowl*, or as the little town on the east of the Island of Arran is called *Corrie* from its enclosing hills. The Irish Dictionaries will tell us the same tale : e.g. Dinneen, *Irish English Dictionary*, says that *Coire* is a caldron ; a large pot or boiler ; a gulf ; a whirlpool ; a maelstrom ; and is applied metaphorically to hell.

But Cormac tells us also that Adamnan in his *Life of St. Columba* speaks of *Corrie-vrekan* under the terms of *Charybdis Brecani ;* so we are under the influence of Homer at some distance, and it looks as if Adamnan had equated *Charybdis* with *caldron.*

We remember Homer's description : he calls the whirlpool a λέβης or caldron :

> ἔνθεν μὲν Σκύλλή, ἐτέρωθι δὲ δῖα Χάρυβδις
> δεινὸν ἀναρροίβδησε θαλάσσης ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ.
> ἣ τοι ὅτ' ἐξεμέσειε, λέβης ὣς ἐν πυρὶ πολλῷ
> πᾶσ' ἀναμορμόρεσκε κυκωμένη.
>
> *Od.*, xii., 235 ff.

Clearly we must look closer at Adamnan if he ventures to translate *coire* by *Charybdis:* meanwhile, however much the language of Cormac may suggest Homer or Homeric and Vergilian parallels, it is clear that *coire* is good Keltic and means a *Kettle.*

The passage in Adamnan is as follows :

" On another day, also, while St. Columba was engaged in his mother-church, he suddenly cried out, with a smile, ' Columbanus, the son of Beogna, has just set out on a voyage to us, and is in a great danger in the rolling tides of Brecan's whirlpool ; (*nunc in undosis Charybdis* (codd : carubdis, caribdis) *Brecani aestibus valde periclitatur*) : he is raising his hands to heaven ; he is also blessing that angry and dreadful sea ; yet in this the Lord only frightens him, for the ship in which he is shall not be wrecked in the storm, etc."

It seems clear that Adamnan has really equated *coire* with *charybdis.* Who then, was Brecan who has given his name to the caldron ?

The Irish chroniclers have much to say, of a legendary character, about this Brecan. As Adamnan and Columba believe him to be a person, we may as well enquire what is to be said on his behalf. There is a summary of a mass of traditions in O'Curry's *Lectures on the Materials of Ancient Irish History* (p. 257 ff.).

" Breacan was the son of *Maine*, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, monarch of Erinn, whose reign closed A.D. 405. This *Breacan* was a great merchant and the owner of fifty *Curachs*, trading between Ireland and Scotland : on one of his voyages he was, we are told, with his fifty *Curachs*, swallowed up in the great whirlpool formed by the confluence of the north-western and north-eastern seas with the channel between Ireland and Scotland. His fate, however, was not exactly known until *Lughaidh*, the blind poet, in many years after, paid a visit to *Bennchur* (Bangor—on the coast of the county of Down). The poet's people having strayed from the town down

to the beach, found the bleached skull of a small dog on the shore. This they took up, carried to the poet, and asked him what skull it was. 'Lay the end of the poet's wand on the skull,' said *Lughaidh;* and then, pronouncing some mystical sentences in the ancient *Teinim Laegh* style, he told them that the skull was that of *Breacan's* little dog, and that *Breacan* himself, with all his curachs and people, had been drowned in the *Coire Breacain*, (or Breacan's cauldron),—an appropriate name, from the constant boiling up and surging of the whirlpool, and the name by which it continued ever after to be known in ancient Gaedhelic writings. This story is preserved in Cormac's *Glossary*, compiled in the ninth century, and in the *Dinnsenchas*, a much older compilation generally."

The author last-named says that Columba actually saw the bones of Brecan at the bottom of the whirlpool and mused on them oracularly: as follows:

"A long time after, Columcille was passing through it, when the sea rose up in front and discovered to him the bones of Brecan, the son of Maine, son of Niall. Upon which Columba said, 'That is friendly of thee, O aged Brecan, etc.'"

The same story is told in O'Donnell's narrative of the saint's return from Druim-ceatt: . . . As there are some interesting points in the narration, we quote from the account:

"Rebus itaque omnibus, propter quas advenerat, in Hibernia foeliciter peractis, sanctissimus Pater navigationem versus Britanniam resumit. Et cum spirantibus ventis ostia Euripi, *Loch-feabhuil* vulgo dicti, esset praetergressis; navis incidit in vorticosam quendam charybdim, nautis et navigantibus formidabilem, quae vulgo *Cor-Brecain*, id est, charybdis Brecani, appellatur: quia ibi ante annos multos Brecanus ex Manio filio Nielli Magni, Hiberniae Regis nepos, submersus interiit: cujus ossa super tumentes fluctus vir sanctus conspicit elevari. Eaque Deo revelante agnoscens, ad socios ait; Illa sunt ossa Brecani cognati nostri, quae voluit Christus ita nobis ostendi, ut pro defuncti refrigerio, ac pro nostra a praesenti periculo liberatione simul apud Dominum intercedamus. Ac mox post brevem et ferventem precum instantiam obtinuit vir beatus non solum se ac suos ab imminenti vitae discrimine, sed et Brecani animam a purgatoriis poenis liberari, quem et ad celestia gaudia vidit volantem."

A vivid parallel, indeed, between the Maelstrom and the place of

torment ! but, as Brecan is an imaginary character, so are the operations of the particular prayer that sent him flying heavenward, except so far as they record and accomplish the escape of Columba himself. What is really important for us is the classical knowledge of the recording angel of the tale ; he passes one tide race and calls it *Euripus ;* he comes to Corryvrekan and calls it *Charybdis.* Again we see how careful we have to be to remove the Homeric and Vergilian traits from the story of the Whirlpool.

If we are told that its roaring can be heard from far, we have the same report in Vergil (*Æn.*, iii., 555) :

> " et gemitum ingentem pelagi pulsataque saxa,
> audimus longe fractasque ad litora voces,
> exultantque vada atque aestu miscentur harenae ;
> et pater Anchises, ' nimirum haec illa Charybdis.' "

The powers of suction and evacuation of the whirlpool are also, as we have seen, described in Homeric terms, to which we have the Vergilian parallel :

> imo barathri ter gurgite vastos
> sorbet in abruptum fluctus rursusque sub auras
> eriget alternos et sidera verberat unda.
>
> *Æn.*, iii., 420 ff.

The writer who knows about Euripus and Charybdis in describing a voyage of S. Columba is capable of a good deal in the shape of borrowed figures and Græco-Latin legends. He did not, however, invent the meaning of *Coire*, which we have shown to be good Keltic for *Kettle.*

Brecan is also Keltic ; for it is the same word as the *Wrekin* in Shropshire on the border of Wales (the Latin *Uriconium*),[1] and as the name of the town and county and high hill of *Brecon* over the Welsh border. I doubt if a satisfactory etymology has yet been given to these three forms : it seems likely that it has something to do with a high rock or crag. Those who are interested in Corrievrekan for its own sake will find that there was an attempt made to transfer the whirlpool from the coast of the island of Jura to the tide-race between

[1] I owe the suggestion to my colleague Mr. Vine. Walter Scott's spelling, *Corrievrekin* in *The Lord of the Isles* is probably correct.

the Irish coast and the island of Rathlin (see Reeves, *Columba*) : for my part I do not assist at the removal of maelstroms.

So our investigation leaves us with the following suggestion, since Corryvrekan means some kind of a kettle or caldron, and since Homer calls Charybdis a kettle (λέβης), that there is some archaic form behind Charybdis which has this very meaning.

As we have said, our enquiry was disturbed by the possibility of cross-currents and interactions between the traditions ; but this need not prevent us from recognising that in the Homeric folk-tale we have preserved to us one of the oldest of the stories that sailors transmit from one to the other. One can see, for instance, in the Homeric account of *Scylla and Charybdis*, how the narration has interwoven with it the story of the *Wandering Rocks ;* these are commonly explained as being the *Symplegades* at the entrance of the Black Sea, which the Argonauts successfully pass, by the stratagem of sending a dove in advance, which flies through and loses its tail, when the rocks come together. In Homer the dove tries to get through the Planctae or Clashers and is killed, but Jason gets through, by supernatural aid. Neither at the entrance to the Euxine nor in the neighbourhood of Messina are there any such terrors, in the shape of rocks that might threaten to crush the navigator. They belong to the romance of long-past history and early human thought posing as history. Corryvrekan may be no more than an illustration, which we have ourselves super-imposed upon an old-world tradition. And this old-world story may have come from anywhere, wherever original man may have wandered ; and any speech that we may know may be invoked to explain the names that are given to the features of the Homeric landscape and sea-scape. We need no explanation of the meaning of the *Planctae*, and we think we have an explanation of *Skylla* which meets the phenomena, in which case the rock is really rock, linguistically. The final perplexity is over *Charybdis*, which we think has something to do with a *kettle* or *caldron*.

We have now reached a point in our enquiry into the myth of *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, where it will be advantageous to stop and consider whether we are on the right track, and if so, how far we have advanced in the direction of a lawful interpretation. That we are dealing with folk-lore from a very early period of human history is becoming clear ; for the story that Homer tells of the perils faced by

Odysseus is certainly not elementary mythology. When Homer discourses of the *Clashing Rocks* through which Ulysses, in imitation of Jason, has to pass, it is a different experience from that which occurs in the popular saga. The Argo is not going to the Euxine; she is under the protection of Hera and the Sea-Ladies, not of Athene, and in place of a single dove sent on to test the passage through the *Clashers* and lose its tail in the attempt, we have a flight of doves of which one loses its life, while the rest get through. So the Argo-myth is in two different stages in the Odyssey and in the Argonautica. Mythologists are disposed to believe the Clashing Rocks to be themselves only a variant on certain Clashing Doors, which need not refer to physical life at all. It is sufficient to point out that it is an old myth with variant forms in Homer's day.

Something similar must be said with regard to *Scylla and Charybdis*. As regards *Scylla*, at all events, either Homer or some rhapsodist before him has been making philological word-play of the first forms that described the dangerous sea-rock, and has evolved the sea-dogs and the sea-rapine of the monster out of the various spellings of her name. Nor are there wanting indications that some one has been taking the name of fell *Charybdis* to pieces in like manner. We have seen the mythology growing before our very eyes. But behind these word-plays there is the seaman's story of a sailor's dangers, and this story is told in old-world language which finds a close parallel in the *Corrievrekan* of the Hebrides.

Corrievrekan would be the very best parallel to illustrate *Scylla and Charybdis*, if it had not been that some of those early navigators of the western seas whose descriptions have come down to us were scholars as well as sailors, and while they had their own local folk-lore of the great tide-race, they had also Vergil up their sleeves, for purposes of illustration, and embellished their accounts of 'sinking ships and praying hands,' with details taken from Æneas and Anchises. It is precisely on this account that where the two folk-lore lines have crossed and duplicated one another, that it becomes difficult to use *Corrievrekan* to illustrate *Charybdis*. For *Charybdis* has already been used to describe *Corrievrekan*. Here is, however, one point where we have a secure parallel. We have shown that Corrie is good Gaelic for a cauldron, though we did not succeed in finally elucidating the other half of the name. This is the people's name, and not the

scholars! Neither Columba nor Adamnan christened the tide-race. Yet we remember that Homer also called Charybdis a kettle (λέβης ὤς), and the parallel expressions go back to a common primitive.

The question, then, arises whether there are any accounts of the whirlpool which come from the lips of the people without scholarly manipulation. Perhaps we may find such in Martin's *Description of the Western Isles*, published in 1703, which certainly gives the most vivid picture of *Corrievrekan*, and apparently from personal observation of the phenomenon and actual converse with the Western Highlanders. We will transcribe this account, on the hypothesis of its independence of Adamnan or Vergil, and see to what results the investigation may lead us. Martin, then, tells us as follows:[1]

"Between the north end of *Jura*, and the Isle *Scarba*, lies the Famous and Dangerous Gulph, call'd *Cory Vrekan*, about a mile in breadth, it yields an impetuous Current, not to be matched anywhere about the Isle of *Britain*. The Sea begins to boil and ferment with the Tide of Flood, and resembles the boiling of a Pot" (here we recall the language of the Odyssey (xii., 237), 'Verily whenever she belched it forth, like a cauldron on a great fire she would seethe and bubble in utter turmoil,') "and then increases gradually until it appear in many Whirlpools, which form themselves in sort of Pyramids, and immediately after spout up as high as the Mast of a little Vessel, and at the same time make a loud report." (Here we recall the Vergilian lines,

> Et gemitum ingentem pelagi pulsataque saxa
> Audimus longe fractasque ad litora voces.)
>
> *Æn.*, iii., 555, 6.

"These white Waves run two Leagues with the Wind before they break: the Sea continues to repeat these various Motions from the beginning of the Tide of Flood, until it is more than half Flood, and then it decreaseth gradually until it hath ebb'd about half an hour, and continues to boil 'till it is within an hour of low water. This boiling of the Sea is *not above a Pistol shot distant* from the coast of *Scarba Isle*, where the white Waves meet and spout up;" (here we make the parallel with Odyssey (xii., 101), 'But the other cliff thou wilt note, Odysseus, lower—they are close to each other; *thou couldst*

[1] *l.c.*, p. 236.

even shoot an arrow across") ; they call it the *Kaillach*, i.e. an old Hag : and they say that when she puts on her Kerchief, i.e. the whitest Waves, it is then reckon'd fatal to approach her" : (the parallel with Scylla is evident). "Notwithstanding of this great Ferment of the Sea, which brings up the least shell from the ground, the smallest Fisher-Boat may venture to cross the Gulph at the last hour of the tide of Flood, and at the last hour of the Tide of Ebb" : (Here again we have the Vergilian parallel :

> 'Exultantque vada atque aestu miscentur harenae'
>
> —*Æn.*, iii., 557,

and we also remember how Columba saw the bones of Brechan and his company whirled to the top, and proceeded to pray him out of Purgatory). "This Gulph has its name from *Brekain*, said to be son to the king of *Denmark*, who was drowned here, cast a shoar in the north to *Jura*, and buried in a cave, as appears from the stone Tomb and Altar there." (This is certainly not the Columban tradition, which makes Brechain an Irish merchant-prince and not a Scandinavian and gives him no burial ; we have a Norse legend competing with an Irish one.)

Now when we review Martin's account, we are struck with the popular features of the description : it may have classical parallels, but they are clearly not borrowed from the classics. Who would have thought, for instance, of imitating the statement in the *Odyssey* that it was only a bow-shot across from *Charybdis* to *Scylla*, by saying that it was a Pistol-shot from the whirlpool to the rock. Would any narrator have taken Vergil's account of the sand that was brought up from the bottom of the whirlpool, or Adamnan's account of the surging up of the bones of Brechain, and made it into the phenomenon of the uplift from the seafloor of the smallest of sea-shells ? Clearly we are looking at the scene with Martin's own eyes and the eyes of his fisher-friends. One might argue away the coincident terms in which the sea is said to boil like a pot, for that is Biblical enough, and even Leviathan in Job does a pot-boiling of his own and makes white waves, but we cannot explain away the unexpected appearance of an old hag in the form of a rock with her white kerchief on. That is genuine folk-lore. *Scylla has rejoined Charybdis*. Not only is she betrayed by the fishermen's lingo, but philology attests her, and gives her a Norse

origin. The rocky islet where the whirling waves break is called *Scarba*;[1] now we have met the root *Skar* already in the *Skerries* and the *Skelligs*, and it is gone into Scottish and north English as *Skaur*, as in *Scarborough* or the adjacent *Scalby*. The old lady then is Scandinavian, even if we may not agree with the fisher folk that *Brechain* was a Dane.[2]

Supposing, then, that we are correct in saying that *Skylla* and *Charybdis* are in folk-lore parallelism with *Scarba* and *Corrievrekan*, it will follow that we have reached the foundation of the whole series of legends in Corrievrekan itself; for Corrievrekan is not a myth; it is still in evidence, and constitutes a real danger, such as it is almost impossible to believe can ever have existed in the trifling currents of the Straits of Messina.[3] Moreover the students who detected in Homer's surging and resurging of *Charybdis* three times a day an allusion to the tides are justified in their suspicion, so far as tidal motion is involved; only it is the abnormal tide-race of Corrievrekan and not the normal 'wap and wan' (to use Mallory's language) of waves upon the seashore. How did the story of the great whirlpool reach the Mediterranean? Was it the Phœnician sailors who ventured to the furthest Hebrides, or the hardy Norsemen who entered the Pillars of Hercules, or did the story travel overland from the Baltic, like Apollo and the Apple and the Amber and other northern contributions to Southern history and religion? At all events no one will doubt that Corrievrekan would furnish good material for myth-making to anyone who should pass into the Western Seas.

We have not, however, exhausted the information which Martin has collected for us from his Gaelic fishermen. He continues as follows:—

"The Natives told me that about three years ago (i.e. before 1700), an English vessel happened inadvertently to pass through this Gulph at the time when the Sea began to boil: the whiteness of the

[1] We have such an island in the *Heimskringla*, iv., 321, "Markus, and some people with him, sprang upon an island called *Skarpa*," said to be near Bergen.

[2] Against this derivation, note that H. Cameron Gillies in *The Place-Names of Argyll* says that Scarba is Norse; *Skarf* – *r* + *ey* = cormorant isle.

[3] But see what is said *infra* on this point.

Waves and their spouting up, was like the breaking of a Sea upon a Rock; they found themselves attracted irresistibly to the White Rock as they supposed it to be; this quickly obliged them to consult their safety, and so they betook themselves to the small Boat with all speed, and thought it no small happiness to land safe in *Jura*, committing the vessel under all her Sails to the uncertain Conduct of the Tide and Wind; she was driven to the opposite continent of *Knapdale*, where she no sooner arrived, than the Tide and Wind became contrary to one another, and so the vessel was cast into a Creek, where she was safe; and then the Master and Crew were by the Natives of this Isle conducted to her, where they found her as safe as they left her, tho' all her Sails were still hoisted."

Here we have either an alternative name for the island of Scarba, which we have identified with Skylla, the name *White Rock* being given to the Old Lady on account of her white kerchief of waves, or it belongs to the submerged rock, between Scarba and Jura, which, rising out of a great depth to within fifteen feet of the surface, makes the rallying point for the tumult of the tide. But *White Rock* is not only in the strait between Scarba and Jura, it has a place, also, in Homeric myth and narration. In the last book of the *Odyssey* the souls of the suitors whom Odysseus has slain are conducted "Westward" by Hermes.

"Past the streams of Oceanus they went, past the *rock Leukas*, past the gates of the Sun and the land of dreams, and quickly came to the mead of Asphodel, where the spirits dwell, phantoms of men who have done with toils." Here is *White Rock* in the Western Sea, one of the stages to be passed by migrant souls.

Nor is this all that may be said on *White Rock*. A glance at the map will show that for a voyager coming to the Straits of Messina from the South, there lies on his right hand shortly before he reaches Rhegium, the promontory of *Leukopetra*. So *White Rock* is geographically in the same area as Scylla and Charybdis, and the other Ulyssean identifications.[1] This can hardly be accidental; it suggests

[1] *Cf.* Victor Bérard: *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, p. 350: "Σκύλλην πετραίην: cette epithète πετραίη ne se trouve nulle part ailleurs dans les poèmes homériques. Cette *pierre* marque l'entrée du détroit sicilien, comme une autre *pierre* en marque la sortie: au Sud, en effet, sur la même côte italienne, le détroit sicilien finit à la *Pierre blanche*, *Leukopetra*."

that the White Rock of the 24th book of the *Odyssey* has been found by a different method of enquiry from that of the 12th book, but in either case it is probable that Scylla is adjacent to it. One folk-lorist locates *White Rock* in the next world, another, more interested in Terrestrial geography, finds a place for it on the map of Southern Italy. We, with Mr. Martin's assistance, claim to have shewn that almost all the features of the Corrievrekan whirlpool and its adjacent shores can be traced in the Homeric and Vergilian accounts of Scylla and Charybdis. For that reason we make these equations,

Corrievrekan = Charybdis (the Kettle).
Scarba = Scylla (the Rock).

Before passing away from the geographical identifications, we may mention that these dangerous promontories and straits have often piacular sacrifices connected with them, a fact which again reminds us of *Scylla* and the *White Rock*. For example, at the S. end of the Island of Leucadia, which lies to the north of Cephalonia and Ithaca, there is a steep promontory, much dreaded by mariners, called *Leucatas* or *White Mountain*. Here, once, stood a temple of *Apollo Leucadios*, to whom every year a human sacrifice was thrown from the top of the cliff. In the farther sea, where a promontory juts out opposite Sunium, at the entrance to the Saronic gulf, we have the rock Scyllæum, where it is said that Scylla herself was thrown into the sea, no doubt as a piacular victim.

We note the parallelism between the two cases, and suggest a possible connection with the *Scylla-and-Charybdis* Cycle we have been studying. For us, the result of our investigation is a conviction that *Scylla* is a sea-rock and *Charybdis* a sea-cauldron, and that both of them had their origin in the Hebrides.

In the foregoing pages we have ventured the suggestion that a mariner's tale of the peril of the northern seas was the original of the Homeric story of Scylla and Charybdis and associated dangers which beset the wandering Odysseus. This mariner's tale, suitably adorned by a mariner's imagination has its origin in the whirlpool of Corrievrekan in the Hebrides. It is around such an experience of seafaring men as is associated with the passing of Corrievrekan that the folk-tales of the *Odyssey* have accumulated.

Before we can remove this suggestion from the region of hypothesis

into that of reasonable demonstration, it is clear that we must be prepared with a number of supplementary enquiries. We must ask, in the first instance, why we have regarded the Greek identification of Scylla and Charybdis with the Straits of Messina as untenable. We must then examine whether the supposed folk-lore evidence for the wanderings of Odysseus is not itself to be traced directly to the Homeric story. Last of all we may be required to show that Corrievrekan is a better starting-point for the legends than, let us say, the Great Maelstrom.

When we proceed to look into these points, we are obliged to admit, in the first place, that we are too much in the habit of underestimating the dangers of the passage through the Straits of Messina. This is partly due to the fact that we travel in bigger ships which are less subject to disturbance by currents, on account of their own speed and their own force of propulsion. Most Mediterranean travellers will feel like ourselves that, after a number of passages through the straits, we could detect no annoyance from the gulping mouth of the divine Charybdis, as Homer calls her. Yet even an ocean-liner may give us some information on the dangers of this particular bit of navigation. For example, in a recent issue of the *Manchester Guardian* (April 3, 1924) a writer gives a vivid description by a passenger on a big steamship, which, as he says, provoked the wrath of Charybdis.

"She still dwells in the depths of the Straits and the fishermen give her a wide berth. All-daring we violated her preserve, and she clasped us in her wrathful grasp.

"On the bridge was considerable agitation. The ship was swinging, despite helm, and rushing towards the shore at twice her normal speed. There was a pounding of feet on the teak deck, a frenzied clanging of gongs in the bowels of her, and the rattling of the steam-engine as the wheel was spun round. But the ship trembled in the grasp of Charybdis. She alone knew her agony. She listed to port. She shuddered and kicked viciously, but still she was urged onward towards the cliffs. Then suddenly, unable to hold the struggling craft, the Evil Being swung her back once more until her bows pointed to the open sea. Again the gongs clanged and the living mass of mechanism kicked harder, seemed to sweat with her exertion—and broke free from the foul clutch."

And the writer concludes by observing that "if Charybdis can play

with a 10,000-ton, geared-turbined oil-burning twin-screw liner, A 1 at Lloyds, perfectly sea-worthy, and the crack ship of her house, she must have inspired real terror in Odysseus, venturing within reach in his frail bark."

This bit of recent experience, even if somewhat overcoloured, must be held to negative the assumption that we are obliged to go elsewhere than to the Straits of Messina in search of the violent, whirling and engulfing waves that we find described in the pages of the Odyssey. Similar testimony is given from Admiral Smyth in Butler's *Authoress of the Odyssey*. The Greek identification must not be discarded, except on the proof that a better one can be found elsewhere, more minutely answering to the Odyssean details of the voyage. For example, it has been commonly, and we think rightly, held that the boiling up of Charybdis a certain number of times in the day is a reference to a tidal phenomenon, and not merely to a local current of the Mediterranean. That suggests the Western and Northern Seas.

Our next difficulty lies in the accurate detection of original folk-lore elements in the Odyssean story. The clashing Rocks, for example, turn up in the track of Odysseus, as they would naturally do in the path of any voyager into unknown seas; but they are neither history nor geography: they are known to be folk-lore of a widely-diffused and very early type. If, however, we remove the incident of the *Planctae*, as Homer calls them, from the story of Odysseus, why should not Charybdis go the way of Circe, and be a mere abyss of the imagination? We need to be on our guard also against the mistake of regarding as pre-Homeric folk-lore what is really post-Homeric and derived from the Odyssey itself. As the problem is really an important one, we will give an illustration in some detail of what we mean.

In a recently published book, whose title is *The Three Dervishes and other Persian Tales*, Mr. Reuben Levi has given us a collection of translations from Persian sources, which are of no small interest to the folk-lorist. For example in the *Story of Salim the Jeweller of Wasit* we have an ogre who is clearly a close relative of Polyphemus. The incident of his destruction must be added to the rapidly increasing group of Polyphemus stories, which can now be traced as far as Corea, and the folk-lorist must tell us whether Homer is the author of the whole cycle of stories or only one member of the authorship (with a possible subordinate series of imitators). In the same collection we

have the *Story of the Sailor and the Pearl Merchant* which has naturally relations to the Sinbad series. But what are we to say of the following incident ?

"They perceived that their ship, without their rowing, and without any greater force of wind, began to move at great speed over the water. In great amazement the sailors ran to Abu'l Fawaris and asked him what had come to the ship that it moved so fast. He raised his eyes, and groaned deeply as in the distance he saw a mountain that rose out of the sea. In terror he clapped his hand to his eyes and shouted out : "We shall all perish ! My father continually warned me that if ever I lost my way upon the sea I must steer to the East ; for if I went to the West I should certainly fall into the Lion's Mouth. When I asked him what the Lion's Mouth was, he told me that the Almighty had created a great hole in the midst of the ocean at the foot of a mountain. . . . In great terror the sailors saw their ship being carried like the wind against the mountain. Soon it was caught in the whirlpool where the wrecks of ten thousand ancient ships were being carried around in the swirling current."

This is clearly Scylla and Charybdis, the steep crag and the opposite whirlpool. The Sailor escapes like Odysseus ; "the current cast him out upon the shore and he made the rope of his ship fast to a stout tree." No doubt this is a reminiscence of the wild fig-tree of the Odyssey to which the hero attaches, not the ship, but himself. If folk-lore has produced the Odyssey, the Odyssey, also, is capable of producing or reproducing folk-lore. If we see this to be illustrated from the Persian literature, it was equally to be noticed in the accounts of Corrievrekan, where the Homeric and Vergilian notes abounded. If Corrievrekan made Homer it was also true that Homer made Corrievrekan. It is the hypothetical statement that is the difficult one. Did Homer derive from the Hebrides ?

We come now to our last enquiry. We assume the existence, somewhere, of a real whirlpool or tide-race to which these various legends go back, Odyssean or otherwise. If you like, let us say with Mr. Victor Bérard in his brilliant volumes that the Odyssey is built up out of Phœnician *Handbooks for Mariners*. To what area of danger do these instructions point ? Will the Mediterranean suffice ? We do not think that it sufficed for the roving Phœnician traders and explorers. At the same time it must be admitted that the hypothesis

of a *Periplus* in which roadsteads, distances and dangers were recorded is quite a natural prologue to the Odyssey itself. When for instance we read the advice which Kirkē gives to Odysseus to avoid the cave of Skylla, she tells him that the cave faces westward towards the dark (πρὸς ζόφον) and Erebus-ward (εἰς Ἔρεβος τετραμμένον); it is difficult to avoid the inference that Erebus is here the transliteration of the Semitic *Ereb* (= sunset) of which *West* is the translation. So M. Bérard may be justified in his introduction of Phœnician influences. Homer joins Erebus and ζόφος, where there is no nautical term involved: e.g. *Od.*, 20, 356, Ἐρεβόσδε ὑπὸ ζόφον, the sunset and the dark. If, however, we make Homer depend on the Phœnicians for his map of the wanderings of Odysseus, the visit of the hero to the country of the Laistrygones 'where the outgoings of night and day are close together,' suggests the high northern latitudes for the Phœnician voyagers whom he is copying. They must have heard of the midnight sun and the Arctic night. So that the *Periplus* is not merely the coasting voyage of the Mediterranean such as the Greeks imagined. If, however, we are to search for Scylla and Charybdis in northern latitudes, why should the whirlpool not be the Great Maelstrom itself? The knowledge of the supreme danger of the northern sea might as easily be carried to the southern lands as the length of the day in the Arctic Circle in summer. Homer might as readily pick up the one as the other. It might even have been carried overland. The problem of the Homeric sources of information has received much attention in recent years at the hands of J. B. Bury, Ridgeway, and others. On the one hand it is certain that Homer places the Kimmerians in the far North-West near the sunless abodes of the dead, the ghost-land of antiquity: on the other hand the Kimmerians are known to the Greek world as invaders of the Ægean, from the Black Sea and the Caucasus. They were no mythical people who burnt Sardis in historical times. From what part of the North did they come? Are they the same as the Cimbri? Let us see what the modern historians say about it. We will begin by consulting Prof. Bury (J. B. Bury, *Klio.*, vi., 86).

"The knowledge of these northern Kimmerians and the ghostland on the Ocean must have reached the Ægean in one of two ways. It must have come by the West by sea or through Gaul, or by the East overland. On the first assumption, the name of the oceanic

Kimmerians would have reached the Greeks through Phœnician explorers of the coast of Gaul. . . . In that case we should have to suppose that at that time (say about 1000 B.C.) the home of the Kimmerians or Cimbrians was not in Denmark but far to the West. This is not in itself unlikely. . . .

"If the Phœnician traders, who had sailed as far as the north coast of Gaul, learned the Cimbrian name, and heard of the superstition of ghostland, the genesis of the Homeric episode would be explained."

P. 88. "The main point of this paper is to show that the Homeric Cimmerians and their setting have a double relation, on one hand to the Κιμμέριοι of the East, on the other to the Cimbri of the North-West. This is independent of the question whether Cimbri and Κιμμέριοι are one; though, perhaps, it may help to establish their identity!" A similar conclusion is reached by Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, i. 390, as follows:

"We have already adverted to the people termed Cimmerians in the *Odyssey*, and we tried to show that by placing them on the Ocean Stream, and in a region of perpetual night, in juxtaposition to the Laestrygones (the land of the midnight sun), the poet meant the northern parts of Europe. As he makes Odysseus sail to the West, he certainly did not mean the East, and he therefore cannot have referred to the Cimmerians of the Black Sea. It is then not too rash to suppose that these latter Cimmerians were but an early swarm from the motherland of the Cimbrians beside the North Sea. The ancients identified the Cimmerians with the Cimbri, and some modern scholars hold these statements to be trustworthy. . . . Posidonius, the Stoic, who travelled in central and western Europe about 90 B.C. and who had thus full opportunity of knowing much about its ethnology, tells us that the 'Hellenes had called the Cimbri Cimmerians.' This statement is repeated by Plutarch in reference to that great horde, which threatened Italy towards the close of the second century B.C. (Plutarch, *Marius* 2. . . .). The evidence both historical and philological makes t as certain as the nature of the case will allow that the Cimmerii and the Cimbri are identical."

The foregoing quotations will show the direction in which modern ethnological research has been moving; we are entitled to take Homer and his Odysseus out of the Mediterranean or the Black Sea, and to allow them excursions into Northern latitudes. If the Laestrygones

and the Cimmerians are beyond Gaul to tho North, we are entitled to look for Scylla and Charybdis either in the Hebrides or the Arctic Ocean. The Greek geographers who made so many Homeric identifications for us in the Mediterranean were hunting too near home.

A difficulty, however, arises at this point. We have to explain how, on the supposition that knowledge as to sub-Arctic conditions reached the Ægean, it was so long before the Maelstrom itself was discovered by Northern peoples. In England, for instance, the existence of the whirlpool was not known of till the sixteenth or seventeenth century. If knowledge invaded near regions in so leisurely a manner, how did it become common property in the Mediterranean hundreds of years B C. ?

These are not idle questions, for we find on looking into the records of Norse geographers and Arctic voyagers, that, when the description of the Maelstrom passed into printed form from the tales of seamen, it was very soon identified by scholars with the Charybdis of Homer and Virgil.

In *Purchas, His Pilgrimage* (1625 A.D.) we find the following entry : (vol. iii., p. 222) :

" The first voyage made by Master Anthonie Jenkuison, from the Citie of London, toward the land of Russia, begunne the twelfth of May, in the year 1557."

" Note that there is between the said *Rost* Islands and *Lofoot* (i.e. Lofoden), a Whirle-poole called *Malestrand*, which from half-ebbe until halfe-floud, maketh such a terrible noyse, that it shaketh the Rings in the doors of the Inhabitants Houses of the said Islands ten miles off. Also if there cometh any Whale within the current of the same, they make a pittiful cry. Moreover if great Trees be carryed into it by force of Streames, and after with the ebbe be cast out againe, the ends and boughes of them have been so beaten, that they are like the stalkes of Hempe that is bruized."

This is the account which John Milton used in his posthumous book, *A Description of Moscovia* (1682), p. 84 :

" In the year Osep Napea returned into his country with Anthony Jenkinson, who had the command of four tall ships. He reports etc." Athanasius Kircher, the Jesuit, has much to say in his *Mundus Subterraneus* about the Maelstrom, which he supposed to be connected by an under-earth tunnel with the head of the Gulf of Bothnia,

of which he gives diagrams and descriptions (Kircher, *Mundus Subterr.* c. x. (lib. iii., p. 17)). Amongst the Norwegian Chorographers we may refer to Pontoppidan (A.D. 1755) who gives a vivid description of the flux and reflux of the Whirlpool, and treats Kircher's theory of submarine vortices and tunnels as a conjecture without foundation. He quotes much native evidence for the violence and danger of the current, and in particular gives an account of it from the *Nordisch Chorographia* of Mr. Jonas Ramus. We transcribe some passages :

"The mountain of Helseggen, in Lofoden, lies a league from the island Ver, and betwixt these two, runs that large and dreadful stream called Moskoestrom, from the island Moskoe, which is in the middle of it, together with several circumjacent isles, as Ambaaren, half a quarter of a league northward, Iflesen, Hoeyholm, Kieldholm, Suarven, and Buckholm. Moskoe lies about a half a quarter of a mile south of the island of Ver, and betwixt them these small islands, Otterholm, Flimen, Sandflesen, *Skarholm*. Betwixt Lofoden and Moskoe, the depth of the water is between thirty-six and forty fathoms, but on the other side, towards Ver, the depth decreases so as not to afford a convenient passage for a vessel, without the risk of splitting on the rocks, which happens even in the calmest weather : when it is flood, the stream runs up the country betwixt Lofoden and Moskoe, with a boisterous rapidity, but the roar of its impetuous ebb to the sea is scarce equalled by the loudest and most dreadful cataracts ; the noise being heard several leagues off, and the vortices or pits are of such an extent and depth, that if a ship comes within its attraction, it is inevitably absorbed and carried down to the bottom, and there beat to pieces against the rocks ; and when the water relaxes, the fragments thereof are thrown up again. But these intervals of tranquility are only at the turn of the ebb and flood, in calm weather, and last but a quarter of an hour, its violence gradually returning. When the stream is most boisterous, and its fury heightened by a storm, it is dangerous to come within a Norway mile of it, boats, ships, and yatchs having been carried away, by not guarding against it, before they were within its reach. It likewise happens frequently, that whales come too near the stream, and are overpowered by its violence ; and then it is impossible to describe their howlings and bellowings in their fruitless struggles to disengage themselves. A bear once attempted to cross from Lofoden to Moskoe, with a design of preying upon the

sheep at pasture in the island, afforded the like spectacle to the people; the stream caught him, and bore him down, whilst he roared terribly, so as to be heard on shore. Large stocks of firs and pine-trees, after being absorbed by the current, rise again, broken and torn to such a degree, as if bristles grew on them. This plainly shows the bottom to consist of craggy rocks, among which they are whirled to and fro. This stream is regulated by the flux and reflux of the sea: it being constantly high and low water every six hours. In the year 1645, early in the morning of Sexagesima-Sunday, it raged with such noise and impetuosity, that on the island of Moskoe, the very stones of the houses fell to the ground." "So far Mr. Ramus, whose account perfectly agrees with those given by others, especially Mr. I. Althand of Ethne, who in his younger years was chaplain there, and consequently had many opportunities in observing variety of circumstances. Mr. Peder Dass, who lives on the very spot, will admit of no other cause of this natural prodigy; and of contradiction to the opinion of the Danish poet Arreboe, in his stanzas on subterraneous watery abysses, he affirms this vortex to arise only from the violence and rapidity of the daily ebb and flood, occasioned by the contraction of its course betwixt the rocks, whereby, in calm weather, but much more when the sea is roused by the wind, this Moskoestrom is rendered so dangerous and dreadful, both on account of its sound, and the furious agitation of its mountainous waves."

Then follows an account of similar vortices in the Faroe islands, taken from *Ferroe Reserata*, cap 1, p. 45. On p. 83, reference is made to Kircher (*Mundus Subterr.*, lib. iii.). And it is stated that Kircher's belief in a subterranean water-passage between the Maelstrom and the Gulf of Bothnia was endorsed by M. Herbin in a dissertation delivered by him at Copenhagen in 1670. On p. 84, reference is made to Mr. Peter Clausson in his description of Norway who states that the gyration of the water is attended with such roaring as to be heard many miles off. Also that "the stream absorbs whole trees, and after submerging them, they come up again with their roots and branches stript and torn, etc." P. 84. "I must not omit here, that Mr. Jonas Ramus, in the above-mentioned place, page 200 etc., labours to show it probable, that Scylla and Charybdis, which have always been accounted to lie upon the coast of Sicily, were no other than this Moskoestrom, whither Ulysses was actually driven in the course

of his wanderings; the inundations of the water (in the Danish language, Vanders Skyllen) and the island *Skarsholm*,—having given occasion to the names of Scylla and Charybdis. Though I can by no means agree to the opinion of this ingenious Gentleman, concerning Ulysses' voyage, yet, in proving the probability of it in another learned piece, it must be confessed that he has given proofs of an uncommon erudition and genius, and as to the Moskoestrom, I shall exhibit his opinion in his own words, that then the reader may adopt as much or as little of it as he pleases."

"Halagoland appears to be one of the first inhabited provinces in Norway; for soon after the Trojan war, Ulysses, whose name was Outin, sailing to the extreme limits of the great ocean, arrived in a dark country, of which he gives the following description; it was full of high mountains, reaching to the very clouds, and perpetually covered with mists and thick darkness, so that they never enjoyed the benefit of the sun, neither at its rising nor its setting, and there he met with two horrible sea-vortices, Scylla and Charybdis, the noise of which struck him with terror, before he came near them; and then he saw a violent ebullition of the sea, like a boiling-kettle, throwing up froth and smoke, which were rapidly carried up in the air. All this has by many been falsely interpreted of the strait near Sicily, though that island has none of those high mountains, covered with dark clouds, nor that gloominess impenetrable to the rays of the sun, nor a perilous roaring stream, so as to be impassable without extreme danger. But all this perfectly coincides with Moskoestrom, near Helleland, where there are, on the side of Lofode, those high mountains called Helseggen, the summits of which, according to Homer's description, were inaccessible to any man, though he had twenty hands and feet, and in winter involved in continual mists and darkness; for from the 27th of November to the 25th of December, old style, the sun is never seen there. There, likewise, are those terrible ebullitions and horrible sounds, which so terrified Ulysses at Scylla and Charybdis; circumstances quite similar to the roaring fall betwixt Helseggen and Moskoe, where the stream overflows the intermediate rocks and islands, and thus came to be called Scilla, from Skillers; and, on the other side of Moskoe, are also islands and rocks, against which the stream breaks; among these particularly, is the island Skarholm, which may be taken for Charybdis.

"Ulysses afterwards reports, that the days after sailing by Charybdis, he came to the island Ogygia, which he describes, as divided by four rivers, each having its particular outlet. This remarkably corresponds with the island Hinde, which is so intersected with deep creeks. . . . One of these creeks is called Oegursfiord, or Agisfiord, an appellation which has some affinity with that of Ogygia; and that Ulysses, whose name was Outin, lived seven years in this island, married and had children there, agrees with the account of our chronicles concerning Outin, where his genealogy is called Haleigatal, because his descendants lived in Halogaland."

We have given abundant space to Mr. Jonas Ramus, whose books are rare and whose theory is curious. Polyphemus is robbed of the one joke which Odysseus made him perpetrate, as to No-man having put out his eye; and by taking the Greek OUTIS in the accusative as the real name of Odysseus, we have a mythical *Outin* who can be traced in Norse records. It is *Odin* that he is trying to find in the sublime wanderer. We must not, however, condemn Ramus or the Maelstrom because the theory is buttressed by bad philology. He may be right in looking in the Northern Seas for traces of Odysseus. The main objection is that the Maelstrom is too far north, and that it lacks the folk-lore features which we have established for Corrievrekan. We have shown that there is still an old lady in occupation of a dangerous rock, and that there is a whirlpool in the form of a cauldron (Corrie) boiling round a White Rock (Leucopetra), which White Rock is one of the stages to the Ghost-land in the West, to say nothing of minor features for identification such as the bow-shot (= pistol-shot) distance between Scylla and Charybdis. So we conclude that Skylla and Charybdis belong to the Hebrides.

Jonas Ramus, with whom we have been contending in the foregoing section, for the right to discover and annex Charybdis, has incidentally done us the good service of reminding us that at Rome in Tacitus' day, the literati were suggesting that Homer's Odysseus had been travelling over Northern lands and seas. The passage in Tacitus' *Germania* which he quotes in support of his theses, both in the book called *Nori Regnum* and in that entitled *Ulysses et Outinus unus et idem* is as follows:

"Ulixem quidam opinantur longo illo et fabuloso errore hunc oceanum delatum adiisse Germaniae terras, Asciburgiumgue quod in

ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque. Aram quin etiam Ulyssi consecratum adjecto Laertae patris nomine eodem loco repertam."—Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 3.

One would like to know more about the grounds on which Tacitus makes his suggestions, and of the location of the city and the inscribed altar.

If the foregoing hypothesis be correct, one of the best confirmations will be found in the way in which it will shed light on related Homeric problems. If, for example, we are justified in taking Odysseus to Hades by the North-West Passage, what are we to say of the perils which are adjacent to the selected route? What shall we say of the cannibal *Laistrygones*, who live where night and day blend into one, and where a man who could dispense with sleep could earn double wages? Much has been written about these monsters, who appear to be closely connected with the *Cyclopes*, and only different from them in that the *Cyclopes* are of pastoral habit and do not 'deem dooms in the city,' while the Laistrygones have the advantage of binocular vision, and of urban life.

First of all we observe that the termination of the name *Laistrygones* is exactly similar to what the ancient geographers give us for Baltic and Scandinavian peoples: for example they do not call the *Goths* by such a short name, but apparently under the influence of a Teutonic plural, they call them *Guttones* or *Gottones*. The *Teutons* are another similar case; they appear on the ancient map precisely as *Teutones* and not as *Deutsch*. In the same way we have from Pliny, and the early geographers whom he transcribes, such names as *Ingaevones*, *Saxones*, *Senones*, etc.

In the next place we notice that there is a termination still extant in Scandinavian lands, which may throw light upon the perplexing *Laistryg-ones*. The southern province of Sweden is known by the name of *Gotarike* in which we easily recognise the Goths and their kingdom (*rik*, *rig*, or *reich*). The central province of Sweden is formed in a similar manner, and is known as *Svearike* (*Sverige*) or the kingdom of the Swedes; following this analogy, it is natural to conjecture that the *Laestrygones* are the people of the Last Rik, the *ultimum regnum* of the ancient geographers. All the attempts to find a Greek etymology for them may be set on one side, and have, indeed, already been discarded as insufficient: the Laestrygones are Teutonic or Scandinavian, and their proper place on the map is

not in the neighbourhood of Mt. Etna, but in Norway. Thus the identification of Scylla and Charybdis in northern waters leads to the approximate location of the savage people, who destroyed Odysseus' companions and threw rocks at his ships.

Ultimate Kingdom naturally calls up to one's mind the *Ultima Thulē* of the ancient geographers. It is well known that Thulē, at all events, is in the far north, and that it was supposed to be an island ; but no explanation has ever been forthcoming of the perplexing Thulē. The Oxford Dictionary tells us that :

" Thila, Tyle, Tile, Thyle, Tule, Thule, Gr. Θούλη " is " a proper name of unknown origin," and that it is the ancient Greek and Latin name (first found in Polybius' account of the voyage of Pytheas) for a land six days' sail north of Britain, which he supposed to be the most northerly region in the world. Thulē has been variously conjectured to be the Shetland Isles . . . Iceland, the northern point of Denmark, or some point on the coast of Norway."

There is no doubt that Pytheas, from whom all the earlier Greek and Latin geographers derive, was a really scientific explorer, and is to be reckoned amongst the first of those who have increased our knowledge of the world we live in. He travelled, perhaps on foot, or partly on foot and partly by ship, through the whole length of the British Isles, and some have suggested that he was sent on his discovery of Great Britain and the adjacent seas by some public organisation (*Societas Geographica Massiliensis*) connected with Marseilles, which was his native place. The reports which he brought back about the Midnight Sun and the Frozen Seas of the north were ridiculed as old-wives' fables, and Polybius goes so far as to say that it was impossible for Pytheas to have gone so far and seen so much, in view of the fact that he was a private person and without pecuniary resources. This depreciation of Pytheas has gone on nearly to our own day, but it is now generally recognised that Pytheas was an astronomer as well as a traveller, and that his observations are often incorporated in the geography and maps of Ptolemy. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* (ed. II. xxii. 703) says of him that :

" Pytheas certainly had one merit which distinguished him from almost all his contemporaries—he was a good astronomer, and was one of the first who made observations for the determination of latitude, among others that of his native place of Massilia, which he fixed with remarkable accuracy ; his result, which was within a few miles of the

truth, was adopted by Ptolemy, and became the basis of the Ptolemaic map of the western Mediterranean." We agree to recognise that the great geographer was also a good astronomer.

The next point to which we draw attention is that *Thulē*, whether it be the name of an island, or whatever it may be, almost always is known in geographical circles as *Ultima Thulē*. Let us look at Pliny's account, which is no doubt based on Pytheas. After describing the *Glessariæ* or *Glass-islands*, from which amber is collected, he goes on to say, "Ultima omnium (sc. insularum) quae memorantur, Thulē, in qua solstitio nullas esse noctes indicavimus . . . a Thulē unius diei navigatione mare concretum, a nonnullis Cronium appellatur." Here we see the adjective *ultima* lurking before *Thule*.

The same thing is to be noted in Orosius, who puts Thulē to the N.W. of Ireland ;

Bi westannorð an Ibernia is þaet *ytemeste* land þaet man haet *Thila*.

Here *Thila* is *utmost Thila*.

What then is the meaning of *Thulē* or of *Ultima Thulē* ?

The Arabic word for *longitude* is *ṭul*, and the involved root is good Hebrew and Phœnician for *extension* generally. Consequently the Thulē of Pytheas is the last point to which longitude (or is it latitude ?) could be assigned on his maps. It is quite possible that as an astronomical term it was earlier than the days of Pytheas, who may have obtained it from Phœnician navigators. If the word carried in Pytheas the connotation of island, as well as of the farthest map-limit, it is quite possible that Norway was intended, which the ancient geographers believed to be an island. Pytheas does not say that he had himself been so far north ; he tells what he saw and distinguishes it from what he had heard. He had observed the lengthening day up to 19 hours ; it does not appear that he had ever seen the midnight sun. Our suggestion, then, is that *Ultima Thulē* means the furthest attainable longitude (or latitude). After that, we come to the non-navigable Arctic Ocean.

But where did Homer get his knowledge of the Midnight Sun or of Baltic geography ? If he has access to the Hebrides or even to the North Sea in the sense of actual knowledge it is probable that he has been drawing on Phœnician sources, as M. Bérard suggested, but in a much wider sense than M. Bérard imagined. How unfortunate that Phœnician literature has perished, and that no Carthaginian library has come to light !

THE SOURCES OF BARLAAM AND JOASAPH.

By J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A. (Litt.D.), D.Theol., etc.

THE Romance of Barlaam and Joasaph is one of the most beautiful compositions, of its kind, in the Christian literature. It is difficult to decide whether to praise it most as a work of Art or as an interpretation of Religion.

Its appeal in favour of the Ascetic life is more alluring than any other we can recollect in Eremite or Monastic story; yet, had it been merely a call from the desert, or to the desert, it would not have captured the imagination of the Middle Ages, been told and re-told in half the languages of the world, nor have incited the artist to illustrate its situations in wood and stone.

This lovely story for long delighted the faithful and finally passed into a strange oblivion. Happily, in our day it has come to light again. Time has drawn the veil from its hidden worth, and readers everywhere are delighting in its matter and its manner. Its literary merit, its history, the fortunes of its heroes, (once canonized and now deposed), the question of its authorship, its form, subject matter and sources, are all elements that combine to form a fascinating study for the student and the scholar.

Some of the conclusions already reached are of a very challenging nature. A Romance itself, it has given birth to more; for what could be more surprising than the discovery made by the first modern critics of Barlaam and Joasaph, that the writer has actually found a place amongst Christian saints for the Buddha himself, whose great Renunciation serves as model for a similar act on the part of the converted Indian prince.

When, to this, was added the further discovery that the writer had incorporated, in his romance, a long line of Eastern stories, unrelated to the Christian religion, but each capable, in skilled editorial hands, of receiving a Christian interpretation, it will be seen that the work is one of first-rate importance. Certainly, if what we have said

above be correct, (and Dr. Budge, in the *Introduction* to his edition of the Ethiopic text, is quite convinced that it is), we have not seen, elsewhere, the Propagation of the Christian Faith conducted on this wise, nor on so grand a scale. Even if we consider the alleged Buddhist colouring excessive, and the argument over-strained, we should still regard with wonder the attempt to re-write and express one great religion, in the language of another. It is a phenomenon in the art of interpretation. Buddha is brought forward to endorse the doctrines of Jesus, to encourage Christians in the practice of these, and to be canonized rather than disowned.

But a find more romantic even than these, to many scholars, was Dr. Armitage Robinson's discovery, that the same veil of anonymity that covered the Buddha had been thrown over a great Christian figure of the second century, and that his brave speech, on behalf of the Christian Faith, to the Roman Emperor of his day, had been boldly utilized, by the author, for his hero, in a similar situation. Who would have thought to see the form of Aristides the Christian philosopher step out from behind the arras in the palace of King Abenner and his son Prince Joasaph? Such a discovery at once enables the Christian scholar to say that, however much the shadow of Buddha may be over the story, we have here a personality much more definite, and one, therefore, more useful to the historian than many Buddhas.

The next stage of the critical investigation into the history and sources of the story of Barlaam and Joasaph, is our own recent discovery, that the writer (whoever he was, let us, for convenience, still call him John of Damascus), had already tried his 'prentice hand, on the religious novel, and had been so pleased with his first effort, and its reception, that he soon wrote a second, in which he followed closely the form of the first, repeated some of its matter, and amid much that was fresh included the famous "*Apology*" *of Aristides*.

For his first theme, he selected the fortunes and fate of an entirely mythical personage, known to the West as Catherine of Alexandria. The crux of the story is her trial, before a persecuting emperor, and her confutation, in the presence of an assembled court and crowd, of fifty-five Pagan orators. Catherine defends the Faith in terms borrowed, (as in the case of the other Romance), from a Greek Apology, (since lost, and not yet identified as to author), and the

story is told with such skill and so convincingly, that it has been accepted for centuries as authentic history. Catherine has her seat among the Saints, and by her influence helps others thither; for the frequent interviews that Joan of Arc had with the imaginary heroine of Alexandria, must have been a powerful factor in the chain of events that finally assigned the Maid a place amongst the Martyrs in Paradise.

Let us now briefly re-state our case, so far, and our conclusions.

John of Damascus writes a novel called *Catherine of Alexandria, her life, her Christian testimony and her glorious Martyrdom:* (let us call it A. C., Acts of Catherine).

In so doing, he incorporated portions of an *Apology for the Christian Faith*, which we will denote by the sign Q,

(Q = *Quelle* or *Quadratus*).

He then proceeded to write a much longer story, for which he drew from nearly all the books in his library. The identification of these is still far from complete, but his chief sources were (1) his Catherine novel, (2) the Apology of Aristides, and (3) a group of *Apologues or Parables*, ten in number, which clearly belong to a single collection, and appear to be Oriental in origin; (we may call them Par_1, Par_2, etc.).

So far, so good, but here the objection arises that though there may be much in common, the method of composition is different in each, and that the difference is not altogether explained by the variation in the points of view of the two incorporated Apologies. In Barlaam, the transferred matter has been taken nearly *en bloc; the Apology* itself has been recovered and we can see, from the Syriac Version, what Aristides discoursed on; to wit, the Stoic Doctrine of God and Providence, the wickedness and folly of the Olympians, the partial illumination of the Jews, the sublime doctrine and incomparable virtue of the Christians. When we turn to the Catherine legend and its embedded matter, we find a complete change in the thought and ground of argument. Catherine, i.e. her source (Q), is frankly Euhemeristic; the doctrine of Euhemerus, that the gods are only dead men heroized, is to be proved from the Pagan writers themselves, from historians like Diodore and Hecataeus (the real father of Euhemerism), from philosophers like Plato, and from poets, including Homer and Hesiod. All of this is promised, but all is not fulfilled.

Plato, for instance, who should have been spokesman for the others, is missing, and we wonder if we were right in assuming that he was meant to appear in the witness box.

Here we are helped by a discovery made by myself, and described in an article entitled *The Quest for Quadratus* in the BULLETIN of the Rylands Library. In the Greek Calendar records, at a date only a little later than that assigned to St. Catherine, mention is made of a saint and martyr named Eustratius, who, with a group of martyrs from Cappadocia and Armenia, defended the Faith before the representative of Diocletian. In the story of his martyrdom, a similar situation is described, to that of Catherine. He too, is an Apologist, and in his Defence, and to our great satisfaction, we find part of the matter missing from Catherine's. Here is the Plato part of the Apology we are in search of. Doubt as to this, if we had any, would disappear, when we see the same Euhemeristic turns of speech in both ; not only does Plato talk side by side with Diodore and Orpheus, but he is "your Plato" as Diodore is "your Diodore," etc. We do not need further proof that a common document has been used.

We must, however, go carefully. How comes it that Eustratius (whom we will, for brevity, call E) selected the very portions of Q which Catherine had omitted ? Has E some direct link of authorship with Catherine, and is it possible to maintain that the same hand can be detected in Barlaam, in Catherine, and in part, at least, in Eustratius ? This seems unlikely, especially as to the latter, the writing of which is, for the most part, very poor, scarcely rising above the level of conventional hagiography. Can we then, by any method, connect the three writings, either wholly or in part, with one another ? To this interesting enquiry we now address ourselves.

It will be remembered that one of the sources of the Barlaam story is a series of Apologues, not necessarily Christian, and not improbably Indian. The monk Barlaam makes much of these in his instruction of the young Prince Joasaph. They are, in the editorial judgement, ten in number, and may be described as follows :

1. The King's brother, and the Trumpet of Death.
2. The Four Caskets : (cf. *Merchant of Venice*).
3. The Fowler and the Nightingale.
4. The Man and the Unicorn (which the Ethiopic version very properly changes to a Rhinoceros).

5. The Man and his Three Friends.
6. The story of the Annual Kingship (important for Frazer).
7. The King and his Counsellor, who went about the city.
8. The King's Son and the Poor Man's Daughter.
9. Story of the Tame Gazelle.
10. Devils (feminine) that deceive men.

Now let us see how the writer introduces the stories. Mostly, they are unprefaced, but of number three he says "the story was told me by a very wise man"; and he continues thus:

οὓς τίνι ὁμοιώσω, καὶ ποτάπην σοι εἰκόνα τῆς τούτων ἀβελτηρίας παραστήσω; ἀλλά σοι παραθήσω ὑπόδειγμα παρά τινος ἀνδρὸς σοφωτάτου λεχθὲν πρός με.

Nos. 4 and 5 come in with a simple ὅμοιοι, and No. 6 is introduced as follows:

ἀνατύπωσόν μοι καὶ ἔτι εἰκόνα τῆς ματαιότητος τοῦ κόσμου κτέ.
ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τὸν λόγον ὁ Βαρλαὰμ ἔφη·
ἄκουσον καὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ προβλήματος ὁμοίωσιν.

No. 10 has this prologue;

καὶ ἄκουσον διηγήσεως τῷ ἐμῷ συμμαρτυρούσης ῥήματι.

Now if we turn to the story of the Martyrdom of Eustratius we shall find a parable of a certain king, who sent his servant to kill a bear; notice how it is introduced:

C. 26.

λάβωμεν δὴ καὶ εἰκόνα, δικαστά, ὁμοίαν ταύτης μου τῆς διηγήσεως.

The recurrence in the formula of quotation, of the words we have underlined, promptly suggests that this is another story from the same source, and as deftly, as in the other case, converted to the service of Christian doctrine. We cannot but think we are in the same workshop from whence came Barlaam and Joasaph. The parable itself we will call *The Story of the King, the Slave and the Bear.*

We turn now to another quarter looking for light on the relations of John of Damascus to Q, A-C, E and B-J.

Modern readers of B-J, who did so critically, and with the knowledge necessary for comparison, were quick to notice the resemblance between the author's views as expressed therein, and

those associated with the writer known as John of Damascus. And certainly the internal proof is all in favour of the assumption, now general, that they are one and the same. For not only are similar views expressed, but much of the matter of the Romance consists of extracts from the writings of John of Damascus, and from one in particular, namely, a treatise entitled *De Fide Orthodoxa*. For illustration, we turn to the seventh chapter of B-J, where Barlaam begins the definite instruction of the young Prince in the Christian Faith. He first transcribes some sentences from *De Fid. Orth.*, Bk. I. c. 2, on the being and attributes of God ; then he narrates the story of the creation of man and the planting of Paradise in terms almost exactly in agreement with those in Bk. ii. c. 12, after which he explains how Lucifer, the Son of the Morning, fell from heaven with all his crew. Here is a sample of his method.

John Dam : *De Fid. Orthod.*, Bk. ii., c. 4 (17).

> Ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων πρωτοστάτης τῆς περιγείου τάξεως καὶ τῆς γῆς, τὴν φυλακὴν ἐγχειρισθεὶς παρὰ Θεοῦ γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ ἀγαθὸς ὢν καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γενόμενος, καὶ μηδόλως ἐν ἑαυτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ κακίας ἐσχηκὼς ἴχνος, μὴ ἐνεγκὰς τόν τε φωτισμόν, τήν τε τιμήν, ἣν αὐτῷ ὁ Δημιουργὸς ἐδωρήσατο, αὐτεξουσίῳ προαιρέσει ἐτράπη ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν εἰς τὸ παρὰ φύσιν, καὶ ἐπήρθη κατὰ τοῦ πεποιηκότος Θεοῦ, ἀντάραι αὐτῷ βουλόμενος.

The same theme in B-J, c. vii., is treated as follows :

> Εἷς δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων, μιᾶς στρατίας πρωτοστάτης, οὐδολως ἐν ἑαυτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ κακίας φυσικῆς ἐσχηκὼς ἴχνος ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γενόμενος, αὐτεξουσίῳ προαιρέσει ἐτράπη ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ εἰς τὸ κακόν, καὶ ἐπήρθη τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀντᾶραι βουληθεὶς τῷ Δεσπότῃ καὶ Θεῷ.

The comparison of the two passages, and in particular of the underlined words shew clearly the dependence of B-J upon the *De Fid. Orthod.*

Let us look now at the Eustratius story. When the Martyr is challenged by the Governor to give an account of himself as regards the faith he has embraced, he uses the opportunity thus afforded him for apologetic discourse, and proceeds in the same manner as Barlaam, telling first of the Fall that has no Redemption of the Angels, and then of the Fall and the Redemption of Man. As thus :

Mart. Eustrat., c. 24.

Εἷς δέ τις τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων, καὶ αὐτὸς προστάτης τάγματος ἀγγέλων, προαίρεσει ἰδίᾳ ἀφηνιάσας κατὰ τοῦ πεποιηκότος αὐτόν.

The writer is apparently abbreviating John of Damascus. We take the quotation a little further.

John Dam. *ut supra:*

συναπεσπάσθη δέ, καὶ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ συνέπεσε πλῆθος ἄπειρον τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ τεταγμένων ἀγγέλων.

B.J. *ut supra:*

διὸ ἀπεβλήθη τῆς τάξεως . . . ἔρριψε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς ὡς ἀνάξιον τῆς ἄνωθεν δόξης· συναπεσπάσθη καὶ συναπεβλήθη καὶ πλῆθος πολὺ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν τάγματος τῶν ἀγγέλων, οἵτινες, κακοὶ γεγονότες τὴν προαίρεσιν κτέ.

Mart. Eustr. *ut supra:*

ἀπεβλήθη τῆς τάξεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς προεδρίας [ὑπὸ] τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ τοῦ τάγματος αὐτοῦ· τότε τοίνυν διὰ τὴν τοσαύτην αὐτοῦ ἀπείθειαν ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἄνωθεν ἐξουσίας.

Here again the interdependence of the three passages is clear, but it looks as if Eustratius were again more nearly dependent upon B-J than upon *De Fid. Orthod.* This dependence of E upon B-J comes out again if we read a little further. Barlaam tells his disciple that the first man, after having eaten the forbidden fruit, is banished from Paradise, and that the devil gloats over his victory:

B.J. vii., 47.

καὶ φαγὼν ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος τοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς παρακοῆς ἐξόριστος γίνεται τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ . . . ἐντεῦθεν ἰσχὺν ὁ διάβολος λαβὼν καὶ τῇ νίκῃ ἐγκαυχώμενος κτέ.

with this we compare E. c. 24

ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ἐξόριστον γενόμενον τοῦ παραδείσου ὑπὸ τοῦ Παντοκράτορος . . .

εἶχετο οὖν τῆς νίκης ὁ πονηρὸς καὶ ἐνεκαύχατο κτέ.

where the conjunction of the two passages suggests that we read ἰσχύετο οὖν τῇ νίκῃ. Assuming, then, that E is directly dependent

on B-J and indirectly on John of Damascus, we have before us a phenomena of relationship that requires elucidation.

We have in the first case two complementary apologies (Q_1 + Q_2), and Aristides (Ar.) :

Catherine (AC) depends on Q_1 ;
B-J depends on AC and Ar. on Par. $_{1-10}$ and on Joh. Dam. ;
E depends on Q_2 on Par. $_{11}$ and on B-J :

the last line meaning that E has not only copied the language of B-J, but has thoughtfully picked up the missing part of Q and a missing element in the Apologues.

Clearly, the natural conclusion as to these relations is, that John of Damascus is responsible for the Catherine story, the Barlaam romance, and the apologetic section of Eustratius. The workshop where all these delightful fictions were produced is the Monastery of S. Saba near the Dead Sea ; and the writings that were utilized (Aristides, Quadratus (?), a collection of Eastern Stories, the Orations of Gregory of Nazianzus, the instructions of Agapetus, etc.), were in the Library of the convent in question. None of the Apologetic tracts is now to be found, either at St. Saba or amongst the books that were removed from St. Saba to Jerusalem.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

Since we published, in the BULLETIN for Oct. 1923, our argument that the *Acts of Catherine* contained fragments of *A Lost Christian Apology*, and that these Acts were by the same author as the Romance of *Barlaam and Joasaph*, in which the *Apology of Aristides* is embedded, the hypothesis has met with contradictory criticism from various quarters. It is agreed that the *Acts of Catherine* has been used freely by the writer of B-J, (that fact being incontrovertible), but it is argued by Dr. Armitage Robinson that the supposed apologetic matter in the *Acts* is taken from the Byzantine Chronographer, John Malalas, and that, in consequence, the hypothesis of the incorporation of a second century Apology does not survive criticism. It is also maintained, in a recently published and, at first sight, exhaustive treatment of the subject by E. Klostermann and E. Seeberg, that the Apologetic matter in Catherine is to be credited to Malalas on the one hand, and to a collection of sixth

century oracles on the other, and that the supposition and argument in favour of a second century apology is finally shattered.[1]

Clearly, from the confident tone of the critics (the German verdict is that "the Passion of Catherine depends upon John Malalas and only on him,") the enquiry must be carried further, if the second century hypothesis is not to be regarded as dead and buried. We proceed, therefore, to point out some further considerations which have escaped the observation of the acute critics to whom we have referred.

Catherine, in the legend, opens her Apology by an argument on the lines of Euhemerus, that the Greek gods are the apotheosis of dead men, and she proceeds to quote two writers, in the first instance, from the ranks of the Greek historians, in favour of the Euhemeristic position. The first is Diodorus Siculus, the second is anonymous, and is introduced as "another of your wise historians." It does not seem to have occurred to the critics that, in real life, it would hardly be convincing to a Roman Emperor to be referred to as a casual and unknown historian; and the same thing would be true in the case of a writer of romance, making an argument before an imaginary emperor. Evidently, the name of the second of the pair of Euhemerist authors has been lost; it is, however, easy to restore it: a single letter has dropped; for ἄλλος read Θάλλος, and we have the missing historian. If further confirmation were needed for restoring Thallus to the text, we may find it in the fact that in Christian Apologetic, Diodorus and Thallus go together; they support one another in the argument that Kronos or Saturn was a man who lived and died, and that, consequently, Zeus and the rest of his family, sprung from mortal parents, were themselves mortal men. They were even buried, Saturn in Italy, Zeus in Crete.

> "Their graves are green,
> They may be seen."

We may begin our verification with Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, c. 10: "neither the Greek Diodorus *nor Thallus*, nor Cassius Severus, nor Cornelius Nepos, has proclaimed him [Saturn] anything but a man." The same argument is repeated by Tertullian in *ad nationes*,

[1] Their position is endorsed by G. Krüger in a recent review in the *Theol. Lit. Zeitung*.

ii., 12, where the text has, by error, Tacitus for Thallus; and in Minucius Felix ("Thallus et Diodorus hoc loquuntur"), and by Lactantius, *div. inst.* i., 13, "hominem fuisse consentiunt. . . . Graeci Diodorus et Thallus." We are not, however, multiplying evidence, since Minucius and Lactantius are probably using Tertullian's statement. We are, then, justified in our emendation; nor need we any longer doubt (as the German writers seem to do) that Catherine is a Euhemerist. Tertullian is clear that the two writers are Greeks, that they both affirm that the gods (from Kronos downwards) were mortal men, and as a Christian Apologist, he endorses their belief.[1]

The emendation being allowed, the argument of Catherine is transferred to the second century. Tertullian took it from earlier Greek writers, not from Malalas, who is centuries later. The Catherine extracts and the attached arguments cannot have come from Malalas, for the chronographer in question does not mention Thallus (except in one obscure passage which does not concern us here). Moreover, in the passage, which Catherine takes from Thallus (describing the origin of idolatry in the days of Serug), Malalas, in the corresponding text, cites his authority for his statements; the two names which he gives are Eusebius, and a certain very wise Rheginus who compiled the names of the deified men. On Catherine's evidence, the extracts come from Thallus, not from Eusebius, who does not mention Thallus, nor from Rheginus, who is another writer altogether.

Thus Malalas cannot be the source of the *Passion* of Catherine, in the extracts to which we refer. He, himself, must have ultimately drawn, as we at first suggested, from the same source as Catherine, that is to say, in all probability, from a Christian Apology of the second century.

The next stage, then, in the investigation will be the determination of whatever other apologetic matter in Catherine belongs to the same century, and for this identification we shall not only be able to use the second century apologists as known to us, but to have the advantage of the discovery that Tertullian and certain other Latin apologists have been working on Greek matter. Very often the missing Greek can be found in Justin, Athenagoras or in the *Cohortatio ad Gentes* ascribed to Justin. The enquiry will also throw light on Tertullian

[1] A similar conjunction of Thallus and Diodorus in Africanus, quoted in Euseb., *P.E.*, x., 10, and Ps. Justin, *Cohort.*, c. 9.

himself, who will become more intelligible as soon as we have satisfied ourselves that the first and greatest Latin Apologist draws freely upon the Greek Apologists who preceded him. Here is an instance, by way of illustration. Tertullian tells us (*Apol.*, c. 14) of the wounding of Aphrodite by Diomede; the passage is rendered by Souter as follows: "Venus wounded by an arrow from a human hand, because she wished to snatch her son Aeneas, when almost killed, from the same Diomede (who had wounded herself)." Souter has added the words in brackets to explain the obscurity in the reference to "the same Diomede." The expansion is awkward, for Venus had not yet been wounded, when she tried to rescue her son. Evidently there should have been a previous statement concerning someone else who had been wounded by Diomede: nor is it difficult to find the missing clause. For, on turning to Ps. Justin, *Cohortatio*, c. 2, we find that "Homer says that *Ares and Aphrodite* were wounded by Diomede." Tertullian, then, has either accidentally or carelessly omitted the words which describe the wounding of Ares: and we see now what he means by "ab eodem Diomede." This simple illustration shows us that in the account of the mishaps and misdeeds of the gods which the early apologists extracted from Homer, place must be found for the wounds which warriors inflicted on their deities. But, in fact, nearly the whole of the Homeric matter in the *Cohortatio* is a stratum from the primitive Christian Apologetic. Further development of this theme may be expected in the BULLETIN for next July.

MARTIANUS CAPELLA AND HIS NINTH CENTURY COMMENTATORS.

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CONSIDERABLE attention has been paid in recent years to the commentaries on Martianus compiled in the Carolingian age.[1] The author's diction and allusions presented considerable difficulty to students, and this, coupled with the fact that the work as a whole formed a useful compendium of the arts, sufficiently explains the motives of more than one scholar in the ninth century in annotating it for the benefit of his pupils. Three such commentaries have been preserved, wholly or in part. Probably the earliest in date is that by Dunchad; it is a fragment as now preserved, since it contains only the notes to books 2, 4, and 5 of Martianus.[2] Of much the same date is the commentary by John Scotus, though, as a piece of profound exposition, it is infinitely more important.[3] Somewhat later, Remigius of Auxerre also composed a lengthy commentary on the same author. He used the work of both his predecessors, and it is his work which enjoyed the most widespread influence in the middle ages. Unfortunately his commentary is still unpublished save for some short extracts.[4] MSS. of the work are fairly numerous, though, until an edition of the whole work is available, it is impossible to say how far

[1] Cf. Manitius, *Gesch. d. latein. Lit.* 1, 335 ff., 513 ff., 525 ff; 2, 803-4, 808-9, where further references are given.

[2] Published by Manitius in *Didaskaleion*, 1, 139 ff. from the Paris MS. 12960 (saec. X.).

[3] Partly published from the same MS. by Manitius in *Didask.* 1, 157 ff. and 2, 43 ff. Some extracts were printed a good many years ago by Hauréau in *Notices et extraits*, 20.

[4] Thus, part of the commentary on Martian. 1 is given in *Didask.* 2, 62 ff. Narducci published part of that on book 7 in *Bullet. di bibliogr. e di storia delle sci. matem.* 15, 572-80. The commentary on the second half of book 9 (Eyssenh. p. 349, 1-375, 11) is to be found in Migne, *P.L.*, 131, 931-964. See also *Neues Archiv*, 36, 57 and *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, 7, 502.

they preserve a single version of Remigius' commentary. The evidence of the British Museum MS. Royal 15 A XXXIII, as Esposito has already pointed out,[1] is to the effect that there was no single version, but that additions were made to the commentary; whether by Remigius himself, or by his immediate pupils and successors, must remain doubtful for the present.

In the *Scholica Graecarum Glossarum*, or notes of lectures given by Martin of Laon, there is a solitary reference to Martianus, and, in publishing this work, the present writer suggested tentatively that Martin obtained his knowledge of Martianus through the works of John Scotus.[2] A perusal of the various commentaries on Martianus, and more particularly that by Remigius, has made it possible to attribute a number of the entries in the *Scholica* to a Martianus commentary. It will, however, become clear in the sequel that Martin of Laon does not seem to have made much use of John Scotus' commentary, but rather that a different explanation is called for. To make the relation of the commentaries to the *Scholica* clear, the passages in question have been set out side by side. In the case of passages from Remigius that are not published, the reference given is to the folio in the Brit. Mus. MS. Royal 15 A XXXIII., which will hereafter be named, for the sake of brevity, *L*.

Martian. (Eyssenh.) p. 1, 11

Scholica Y4: <H>ymen: locus intra viscera puerperii, id est locus conceptionum quem vulgo dicunt matricem. Est autem <H>ymenaeus actus voluptatis, inde deus voluptatis dicitur, quod est Venus.

John Scotus (*Didask.* 1, 158, 25): Membranula autem ventris, in qua puerperia concipiuntur, et feminei sexus proprium est et a Grecis hymen vocatur. Inde Hymenaeus, qui corporalibus praesidet conceptionibus, ut poeticae fabule fingunt.

[1] *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, 9, where he describes the MS. at some length. It is, however, incorrect to say that the MS. (apart from fol. 3, which belongs elsewhere and contains a fragment by Dunchad) is written by two scribes. There are at least four hands; e.g. fol. 183*a* (middle) to 183*b* (middle) is in a different hand to that of the two chief copyists. A fourth hand appears on fol. 211*a*. Nor is it right to say 'the seventh book of the commentary of Remigius has been printed in full by Narducci.' In fact, the extract printed by him (*op. cit.*, p. 572 ff.) only reproduces the notes to book 7 as far as p. 260, 20 in Eyssenhardt's edition, not a quarter of the whole, though it may be all that Narducci found in the MS. he used (Vat. Reg. Christ., 1970).

[2] *Bull. of the J. Rylands Libr.*, 7, 421 ff.

	Remig. (*Didask*, 2, 63, 7): Hymen Grece, Latine dicitur membranula et est proprie muliebris sexus, in qua fiunt puerperia. Inde dictus est Hymenaeus nuptiarum deus.
Martian. 1, 17	
Schol. H8: Calliope[a] quasi Calliphone, id est bona vox; signatius tamen derivatur a verbo calli [o] poio Graece composito, quod est bene facio vel compono. *Schol.* Misc. 10: Callion phone: bona vox.	Remig. (*Didask.* 2, 67, 3): M. Calliopea una est ex VIIII. Musis; interpretatur secundum Fulgentium Callion phone, id est pulchra vox, sive Calliopea dicta pulchrifica vel pulchre fatiens, quia callos Grece pulcher, poio fatio, a verbo id est poio, unde et poeta dicitur.[1]
Martian. 2, 2	
Schol. G3: Gymnus dicitur nudus, gimnasium locus exercitii ubi nudi luctabantur. Gymnosophistae dicuntur philosophi qui nudi philosophabantur tecta pudenda corporis.	Remig. (*Didask.* 2, 67, 30): Gimnoloysis, id est sermocinaris - - - - . Hinc gimnus dicitur nudus et gimnasium, id est locus exercitationis.[2]

Moreover, in a comment on Phocas (*Gram. Lat.* 5, 411, 6) Remigius gives a fuller explanation, which is almost identical with the entry in the *Scholica*. It reads (*Didask.* 2, 75, 20):

> Gymnus dicitur nudus, unde gimnasium locus palestre, ubi nudi milites ad palestram luctabant, vel ubi philosophi nudi philosophabantur, tectis tantum pudendis; vel gimnasium dicitur locus exercituum, gimno enim Grece exerceto.

Martian. 2, 13	
Schol. Misc. 13: Praeclues:[3] valde nobiles.	John Scotus (*Didask.* 1, 160, 15): Praeclues, id est valde gloriosi etc. Remig. (*Didask.* 2, 68, 4); Praeclues, id est nobiles, generosi et valde gloriosi. (Cf. also *L.* fol. 104*a*, last line: Preclues, id est valde nobiles et inlustres.)
Martian. 19, 22	
Schol. C4: Chelae: bracchia.	*L.* fol. 29*b* (near end): Chelis: Grece lyra a bracchiis quae Greci chelas dicunt.

[1] M. *om. L.*; a verbo id est poio *om. L.*

[2] Gimnologisis id est ratiocinaris *L.*

[3] So my emendation, when publishing the *Scholica*, praeclue<n>s, was wrong.

Martian. 24, 17

Schol. C11: Condilomata sunt nodositates quas patiuntur artetrici (arthrit-) digitorum. Felix Capella introducit τύχην, id est Fortunam, diversorum capita conterentem complicatis in condilos digitis, hoc est in nodositates.

John Scotus (*Didask.* 1, 172, 21) Condilos Greci dicunt plicatos in pugnam digitos, condilo pugnis caedo, et est verbum condylo las.

Martian. 33, 2

Schol. C37: Choraula: princeps chori ludorum, quo nomine potest dici totus chorus.

L. fol. 47*b*: Coraula[1] proprie est qui cornu canit, sicut bubulcus. (!)

Martian. 44, 19

Schol. S19: Sybilla dicitur quasi syos bule, id est dei consilium vel dei os; nam sios Aeolice dicitur deus, bule consilium.

Dunchad (*Didask.* 1, 139, 13): Sybilla dicitur quasi syos bilin, id est mens dei.
John Scotus (*Didask.* 2, 46, 22): Sibilla sios bole, divinum consilium.
L. fol. 60*a* (top): Sybilla autem interpretatur quasi sios bule, id est Iovis vel dei consilium; nam sios Aeolice deus dicitur.

Doubtless both Dunchad and John Scotus are here indebted to Isidore (*Etym.* 8, 8, 1); the same is true of Martin of Laon, who adheres to his source most faithfully and seems to be copied directly by Remigius.

Martian. 76, 6

Schol. A 69: Agape; caritas; unde pastiones, quae causa caritatis Dei in pauperes aguntur, agapae vocantur.

John Scotus (*Didask.* 2, 52, 1) Agape proprium nomen. Potest etiam et commune et interpretatur caritatis.

Martian. 163, 10

Schol. C 9: Chirographus est manus scriptio, etc.

L. fol. 118*a* (last line) Cyrographum, id est manus scriptum.

Martian. 169, 4

Schol. P 34: Piratae sunt praedones maritimi ab incendio navium dicti. Pyr dicitur ignis, etc.

L. fol. 120*a-b*: Archipirata id est princeps piratarum; pyratae autem sunt praedones maritimi qui igne regiones depopulantur.

Martian. 195, 16

Schol. H 6: Hialin: vitrum.
Schol. P 5: Phiala eo quod fiat ex <h>ialin, hoc est vitro. Hialin enim dicunt Graeci vitrum.

L. fol. 129*a*: Hyalini, id est vitrei glauci vel viridis; hyale apud Grecos vitrum dicitur, unde et phyalae dicuntur quasi hyale, quod ex vitro fiunt.

[1] But the MSS. reading in Martian. is *corollis*, which the corrector of *B*(*ambergensis*) altered to *coraulis* (cf. Eyssenhardt *ad loc.*).

Martian. 242, 20

Schol. I 3: I[a]ctis Graece dicitur piscis; ictiophagi dicuntur piscium comessores.

L. fol. 141*b* (bottom): Ictis Grece piscis, fage comedere; hinc ictiofagi dicuntur piscium comesores.

Martian. 260, 11

Schol. A 80: Apocatasticus: adstans uno in loco scilicet consistens; sicut manifestum est planetas aliquando anteire solem, nunc retrogradas (-os) esse, nunc stationarias (-os); unde soliti mathematici dicere 'Saturnus apocatasticus est'.

Remig. (Narducci, *op. cit.*, p. 580, 15): Apocatasticus, id est singularis vel retrogradus, id est in se ipsum rediens.
L. fol. 154*b* (bottom): Apocatastasin, id est in se ipsum redeuntem, apocatasticus, id est singularis ut sicut quinque (?) apocatasticus dicitur.

Martian. 260, 19

Schol. D 11: Diametrum: medietas spherae, linea illa videlicet quae sphaeram secat per medium hoc modo, etc.

Remig. (Narducci, *op. cit.* 580, 17): Diametrum, id est linea dividens circulum quia ille dividit denarium, sicut diametrus dividens circulum.

Martian. 274, 11

Schol. E 22: <H>emiolia: sesqualtera seu diapente, semis et tantum (tot-), hoc est tantum (tot-) et medietas tanti (tot-).

L. fol. 163*a*: HMIOΛION quasi semis totum, id est sesqualtera; HMIC semis, OΛON totum. *ib.* 165*b*: de hemiolia, id est sesqualtera quasi semis totum.

Martian. 362, 9

Schol. C 36: Chroma: color.

L. fol. 221*b*: Croma Grece, Latine color.

Martian. 368, 10

Schol. S 21: Senoca: continuatio; inde senoca infirmitas cotidiana, quam corrupte vulgo senecam vocant.

L. fol. 235*a*: (syneches) id est continuus vel continuatus; hinc synecha passio vocatur, id est continua febris. (cf. Migne, *P.L.*, 131, 955D.)

The passages set out above leave no doubt that an important source for the *Scholica* was one, or more, commentaries on Martianus.[1] Furthermore, there are close parallels between the *Scholica* and other commentaries by Remigius. Thus reference has already been made

[1] Before leaving Remigius' commentary on Martianus, one of his glosses (on Martian. 52, 15), though it does not bear on the question under consideration, deserves to be made known:—Papiam et Pop<pa>eam legem: Papias et Pop<pa>eus duo fuerunt consules Romanorum, qui ad Hispanias directi sunt et ibi Romanas leges scripserunt. *L.* fol. 69*b*. The reference to the two *consules suffecti* may come from Isidore (*Etym.*, 5, 15, 1), but what kind of source, or misreading of a source, is responsible for the Spanish legislative activities of Pap. and Pop.?

to one Remigius gloss on Phocas ;[1] it is not an isolated phenomenon, as the following comparison will show.

Gram. Lat. 5, 418, 28

Schol. P 20: Pseudot<h>yrum: [h]ostium remotum a publico.

Remig. (*Didask.* 2, 82, 28): Postis ostium . . . postica vero penultima producta a quo posticium, quod Grece dicitur pseudotirum, significat ostiolum post ianuam secretum.

Gram. Lat., 5, 425, 17

Schol. E 2: Emblema polisemum nomen est; nam uno sensu dicitur anaglyffum vas, secundo superabundantia, tertio variatio lapillorum, quae fit in pavimento, etc.

Remig. (*Didask.* 2, 86, 3): Emblema: varietas pavimenti vel superhabundantia, unde embolis maris [illegible].

Gram. Lat., 5, 436, 6

Schol. T 6: Tropaeum scribendum est per P sine aspiratione ab eo quod est τροπή, quod fugam hostium sonat; nam τροφή cum aspiratione nutricem sonat, unde trophimus dicitur nutritor. Quandocumque enim dux seu princeps fugabat hostem a propriis finibus, non tamen comprehendebat gloriam et pompam quam exinde captabat, appellabatur tropaeum a fuga hostis; triumphus vero captabatur de comprehenso hoste.

Remig. (*Didask.* 2, 88, 3): Ovare: gaudere tractum ab ove, quia quando antiqui tropheum celebrabant, in Capitolio de alba ove immolabant. Distat autem inter tropheum et triumphum: tropheum erat de fugatis hostibus et non interfectis, ab eo quod est trepo vel tropos, id est conversio; triumphus de interfectis celebrabatur et dicitur triumphus apo tu triabem, id est ab exilitionem.

Two additional parallels come respectively from a commentary by Remigius on Priscian and on Eutyches.

Gram. Lat., 3, 495, 36

Schol. P 17: Philacterium: servatorium legis. Est autem conpositum ex duobus corruptis et ex duabus linguis; philaxe siquidem Graece dicitur servatorium sive servare, thorath <H>ebraico vocabulo dicitur lex.

Remig. (*Neues Archiv*, 36, 45): Philaxe servare, philaxium, id est custodia, tora scilicet lex, unde philacteria dicuntur servatoria vel custodia.

From Eutyches

Schol. Misc. 9: Perioch[i]a est circumstantia quae significat personam, locum, tempus, rem, qualitatem, causam et facultatem.

Remig. (*Neues Archiv*, 36, 51): Περιοχή: circumquestio vel circumstantia que circa rem queritur. In presentis lectionis capitulo locus, tempus, persona.

[1] See above on Gymnus.

A word of caution regarding the *Scholica* entries may not be amiss. It is not in the least necessary that these should all come from commentaries on Phocas, Priscian or Eutyches, for we have already seen that Remigius repeats the same or similar information more than once in the same commentary, or in two commentaries on different authors.[1] In other words he might use information which he found in an earlier commentary on Martianus or Priscian to elucidate a passage in Phocas, and so on.

It is an interesting fact that two of the tenth century glosses on Bede's *De natura rerum* show very close verbal resemblance to two items in the *Scholica*.

Schol. E 27: Elimentum per I scribitur ut quibusdam videtur veniens a verbo quod est elimo, id est formo, ipsumque a nomine trahitur, quod est lima instrumentum fabri; sed melius ab<h>yle venit quod est Graec <um>et interpretatur materies, et mutatis litteris scribitur elementum, quod Graece dicitur stochium.

Schol. Y 7: <H>yle[n] dicitur confusa materies unde cuncta procedunt, inde dicitur ylementum.

Incert. auct. on Bede (Migne, *P.L.*, 90, 196B-C): Elementa, quasi elevamenta eo quod ex elementis omnia constent. Elimenta ab elimo, id est formo, quia inde cuncta sunt formata. Hylementa ab hyle, id est informi materia, de qua facta sunt omnia in species. . . . Elementum secundum Isidorum Graecum est et sonat Latine materies. Secundum Ambrosium vero Latinum nomen est, et derivatur ab eo quod est elimo, id est formo, et quod nos elementum dicimus, Graeci στοιχεῖον.

(Byrhtferth of Ramsey's comment is similar to the first part of the above; cf. Migne, *ibid.*)

The Ambrose reference is no doubt to *Hexaem.*, 3 (p. 72, 12 in the Vienna *C.S.E.L.*), but it is quite general. Thus the *Incertus auctor* may have found the reference in a secondary source; on the other hand, in other glosses on Bede he quotes the writings of Ambrose verbally at some length.

Schol. P. 38: Parapsis (-ops-): vas quadrilaterum dictum a paribus absidibus et est aptum calidis frigidisque cibis.

Byrhtferth on Bede (Migne, *P.L.*, 90, 213C): Quidam tamen dicunt absiden esse latus, et inde volunt esse dictum parapsiden, a paribus absidis. Sed alli repugnant, dicentes absiden Graecum nomen esse et tertiae declinationis, ideoque non posse ablativum

[1] As with Gymnus above; the gloss on postis appears also in a Priscian commentary. cf. *Didask.*, 2, 82, footnote.

facere absidis. Hi ergo dicunt parapsiden vile vas, quasi paropsiden, ab obsonium quod in eo omnes cibi administrentur.

It is known that the commentaries of Remigius were used by Byrhtferth, for at times he copies them word for word. Whether the *Incertus auctor* can be identified with Remigius, as Manitius suggests, is more doubtful; at any rate the gloss on elementum does not appear to come from the Martianus commentary.[1]

It remains to consider the Martianus and other glosses in the *Scholica*, and their origin. Manitius, discussing the similarities between Dunchad and John Scotus, points out that there are two possibilities, either that John used Dunchad's commentary, or that both consulted an earlier work now lost.[2] He thinks that the evidence favours the second alternative. The same writer stresses the fact that Remigius primarily used John's commentary, but not solely.[3] He clearly quarried in some other source or sources. Now, in the earlier part of the Paris MS. a large number of Remigius' comments are prefaced by the letter M or G; the two letters even occur in conjunction. The comments so labelled are those which do not go back to either Dunchad or John Scotus.[4] Manitius hazards the suggestion that M might stand for Martin of Laon, and the evidence of the *Scholica* certainly seems to lend some weight to this hypothesis. The *Scholica* are not of course a commentary on Martianus, or for that matter on any other particular author, but it has been shown that they contain a number of extracts coming from a source of this kind. Clearly the source is not the commentary of Dunchad or John Scotus: on the other hand, many of the parallels between the *Scholica* and

[1] Manitius, *Gesch. d. latein. Lit.* 2, 700. In a rapid survey of *L.* I was unable to find the gloss on elementum.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 1, 513-4.

[3] *Ib.* and *Didask.*, 2, 73. Remigius' debt is made clear not merely by verbal parallelisms, but by the fact that he refers to John by name. In *L.* the reference is on fol. 66*a*—Johannes Scottus Attin puerum vel impetum sive proximum dicit interpretari—(on this point, cf. also Narducci, *op. cit.*, 525-6.) Of course Isidore is much used by Remigius, as by his predecessors, but without mention of name; thus, to give an unpublished instance, Isidore's long explanation of the Amazons (*Etym.*, 9, 2, 64) is repeated almost word for word as a gloss on Martian 347, 7 in *L.* fol. 219*b*.

[4] *Didask.*, 2, 61-2 and *Neues Archiv.*, 36, 55-6.

the commentaries of Remigius on Martianus and other authors are very close. If it were certainly demonstrable that the Priscian commentary in Laudun. 444 was composed by Martin—he certainly wrote part of the MS.—it would lend some weight to the supposition that Martin also compiled a commentary on Martianus, of which only some remnants have survived in the *Scholica*. On the other hand Martin may never actually have written down his elucidations of Martianus in a continuous form. His pupils may be the sole transmitters of Martin's learning. In either case, it is natural enough that Remigius should be indebted to Martin. If a commentary by Martin existed in book form, it is obvious that Remigius would consult it, as he consulted the works of Dunchad and John Scotus. His use of the last-named writers shows that he was well acquainted with the work of the Irish scholars resident in N. France ; besides, his chief master, Heiric of Auxerre, had been a pupil of Elias, an Irishman, at Laon.[1] Remigius may even have known Martin himself.

When the commentaries of Remigius have been completely published, a good deal of additional light should be thrown on the activities of his immediate predecessors in the task of annotating suitable text-books for monastic tuition.

[1] Manitius, *Gesch. d. latein. Lit.*, 1, 499, with footnote 3.

A STUDY IN TWELFTH CENTURY RELIGIOUS REVIVAL AND REFORM.

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THE twelfth century covers the central period of European monasticism. In it we find perhaps the most perfect expression of purely monastic principle in its primitive as in its later, more developed forms. In other words, it is probably the period of fullest monastic development, both intensive and extensive in its original and proper, that is, in its Benedictine form. In regard to extensive development I do not refer to actual numbers of houses or ground covered, but to the real grip and force exercised by its dominant ideas upon European life. It is probable, nay certain, that the direct dominion of monasticism in the broader sense was wider when added to by the Mendicants in the twelfth century. But the Mendicant addition, notable as it was, and ascetic in a high degree, was not in its essence monastic. The aim and object of the Mendicant movement were different. The twelfth century[1] saw pure monasticism at its height and drawing magnetically towards itself that other fundamental ideal which worked side by side with it in West Europe almost from the beginning, that is, from the time of St. Augustine. This latter ideal, in its true form, merely borrowed from the monastic its discipline for other and different purposes, namely, those of ministry, so that the practical inclusion, as the century wore on, of the Regular or Austin Canon in the monastic estate marked to a certain extent a blurring of aim and purpose—even, in regard to the latter, a distortion of legitimate development. It needed the vision and genius of St. Francis to rescue the Augustinian ideal and restore it, under new forms indeed (forms in

[1] One of the most important sources of information for this whole subject is the group of *Lives of St. Bernard*, with his *Works*, Migne: *Pat. Lat.*, tt. 182-185.

which its inceptor would hardly have recognised it) to a truer use in the life of the Church. The thirteenth century saw this ideal (in its essence Augustinian by reason of the adaptation of monastic discipline to the end of ministry), under the inspiration of St. Francis and the organising genius of St. Dominic, outstrip the purely monastic or Benedictine, and become for a time dominant in the Western Church. In such wise was this the case that it became, if not the main channel, at least that of a mighty current in the spiritual life of Europe during the succeeding centuries. It is in pure monasticism, then, that we are to seek for the subject of our study which is religious revival and reform in the 12th century.

The two ideals above spoken of, fundamentally distinct, are represented in this the central period of the Middle Ages respectively by Benedictinism and Augustinianism, and the twelfth century, while offering an incomparable field for the study of the former, does not exclude that of the latter. Not only do we see Benedictinism in its broadest as in its most rigid form, dominant in Western Europe, we see the strength of its very texture in and through the conflict of the varied and indeed, at this time, warring ideals into which the centuries had woven its life. It shows us the indestructible fabric of pure Benedictinism subjected to the shock of reform and the rending of criticism. It shows us on the whole the victory of Benedictinism in the combined strength and elasticity of the design of the sixth century lawgiver. The new movements which seemed so threatening to its life, as a matter of fact, found a place within its borders, and it is precisely because of this conflict within and about the broadly-fashioned structure of Benedictinism that the twelfth century offers so admirable a field for the study of its principles and their working in history.

To look at the life of the twelfth century, with its mighty currents of revival in the heart and intellect of Europe, through the lens of monasticism, and in the first place of Benedictine rather than of Augustinian monasticism, might seem to narrow even while it magnified the field of vision. But the more deeply one reads, the more one is convinced that this is not the case—that, on the contrary, it is in and through monasticism that the spiritual life of the century must be studied. Monasticism not only equips the leaders of the age in every branch of its life—those great ecclesiastical statesmen whose lives offer convincing proof of the distinction of the dominating type,—it controls

them for the most part and through them moulds and fashions the life of Europe, not excluding the military. Even here it seizes upon the time-spirit, transforms it and through the great military orders directs it to the furtherance of the common 'foreign policy' of Christendom as a whole in both East and West. St. Bernard of Clairvaux is admittedly the centre of the life of his time, in the world hardly less than in the Church, by reason of his enormous political influence in part at least derived from his relations with the military orders.[1] His friends, Suger, the great statesman of medieval France, and Pope Eugenius III. are monks (the latter a Cistercian monk). Of his great opponents—in the sphere of thought, Abelard was a monk—in the politico-ecclesiastical world, Arnold of Brescia was a regular canon. In truth, movements, whether of new vision or of revival, whether of particular or of universal truth, took their rise from, and as a rule found their home, not in new sects for the most part (as so often in, and after, the sixteenth century Reformation), but at this time in the monastic system. It is to be remembered that in the twelfth, as in the thirteenth century, a great monastic revival meant the revival of the entire religious life of the age, or at least, the swirl through it of a current of fresh and often storm-tossed elements of spiritual life. Some of these were destined to be absorbed into the general life of the Church, partly through the old channels, partly through new ones cut in those Catholic days for the purpose. Others were flung off as worthless or even suppressed as dangerous, whereas in reality they were often merely premature. Certain of the elements flung up by the intellectual ferment of the twelfth century offer a case in point. But the monastic system absorbed what it was able, and perhaps this was in truth all that was compatible with the general stage of European ethical development, which was low. With the violence of the life around it, the strength of monasticism, striving to hold the equilibrium, was apt to be in inverse ratio. It was to such a storm of revival, alike destructive and life-giving, that the religious life of the twelfth century was exposed and, unlike that of the thirteenth, it was upon pure monasticism and more especially upon Benedictine monasticism that it mainly fell, through which it wrought a way for itself and to which it offered at once a supreme opportunity and a grave peril. It was Benedictinism, as the

[1] Cf. *S. Bern. de laude novæ militæ ad milites Templi liber*, ap. Migne: *Pat. Lat.*, t. 182, pp. 922 *et seq.*

most perfect instrument which the age produced for the purpose, which in the first place absorbed and then passed on the new religious life. It was certainly within the limits of Benedictinism in its revived and most rigorous form that the new life was sifted, weighed and tested, certain non-absorbable intellectual elements being entirely flung off, as it seemed to perish, in reality to await the passing of a few more generations. Though the contribution of the greatest of these intellectual leaders of the age, Abelard, was rejected and indeed repudiated at the time, what was of permanent value in it was ultimately, and not indeed remotely, to be accepted. That however lay just outside and beyond the main spiritual ferment of this vividly-awakened age, and it is with the more definitely religious elements that we are here concerned.

The victory in this conflict of monasticism, and upon the whole of Benedictine monasticism and its retention of the new movements, will surprise no one who realises in the smallest degree the general character of the life, secular as well as religious, of the twelfth century. It could not be otherwise. The fact that it was fraught with certain perils to intellectual development in general does not here concern us. It is with the conflict itself that our consideration for the moment lies. The twelfth century is the time when the principles and practice of Benedictinism were sifted, examined, and discussed in the storm of religious revival by certain of its own most distinguished sons, notably by Peter the Venerable, Cardinal Albano, and St. Bernard, but even more illuminatingly by obscurer persons. It is in the writings of these men, in the first place, that the movement must be studied if its true character and timeless elements are to be distinguished, and it is in the records of such lives as these, in which the religious life of the century is enshrined, that the fundamental framework of Western monasticism, that of St. Benedict, is again laid bare, and the accretions with which the custom and tradition of the centuries had overlaid it, are subjected to the severest tests which the age could apply. The records are necessarily imperfect, and the evidence meagre or at any rate partial, but from them a few illuminating facts of the life of a century which in many ways strove after the severest and loftiest ideals of the Middle Ages may be gathered.

For our purpose, apart from the main record in biography, there has come down to us a very valuable series of documents illustrating in an almost unique way different aspects of the religious movement of the

century, and the approach to an understanding, however slight, of this movement lies through these, and such as these alone. The group may be divided into two parts: (*a*) The series which contains the story of the rise of the new or reformed order of Citeaux, which was the direct outcome and embodied the principles of the new religious movement of the time, and was to become its main agent throughout Western Europe; (*b*) The group which shows the impact of the new movement upon the older religious life. Some of these documents are fairly well known; others are not.

Monasticism in Western Europe at the close of the eleventh and the opening of the twelfth century was still, needless to say, shaped and dominated by the Benedictine Rule. But the Benedictine Rule was most conspicuously and nobly represented by Clugny and her famous group of daughter-houses. It was still the 'age of Clugny.' Of the original frame-work of Benedictinism, as of the Clugniac superstructure, this is hardly the place to speak in detail. The broadly-fashioned structure of the work of St. Benedict with its absence of particularising, i.e. of limiting conditions, was still the basis of the monasticism of the West. But St. Benedict's Rule merely laid down, as it were, the abiding principles of the monastic life as applied, in the first place, to the needs of the individual monk and, in the second, to those of the individual house. It offered, therefore, all those infinite possibilities of adaptation and development, some of which he himself foresaw, which age, country, climate, social and politico-ecclesiastical conditions were destined to bring about.

Upon this broad foundation St. Benedict of Aniane in the early ninth century began the superstructure with a loosely constructed scheme of grouping of the houses (it was perhaps little more), which the eleventh and early twelfth centuries saw completed in all the splendour of the monarchical system of Clugny. These two movements of revival bore witness not only to the vitality of Benedictine ideas but to their gradual modification, in the birth and extension of the congregational principle, and in the steady development of institutions and usages which grew up for the direction and conduct first of individual houses, and secondly for that of groups of houses. Clugny[1] herself undoubtedly stood for a profound modification of the Benedictine order

[1] Albers, *Consuetudines Monasticae.* Stuttgart, 1900, 1905, 1907.

of life. Not only had she supplemented it in her magnificent monarchical system of grouping of houses ;[1] she had departed from it in her usages. Clugny in her special adaptation of the Benedictine Rule had deposed manual work from its high place therein and substituted for it liturgical observance and a concentration on the life of prayer (or life in the choir), which could with difficulty be maintained in a community save under the high inspiration and endeavour of a heroic age, and was apt to fail in the average monk, as in the average man. For Clugny, it has been truly said, the choir had become the sphere of the monk. Moreover, Clugny had abandoned public teaching, and such an interpretation of the Benedictine Rule as Clugny offered to the twelfth century should have been, it has been truly said again, maintained by devotion to study, learning and teaching.[2] Instead of this, intellectual development had suffered under the predominance of Clugniac influence and custom in the monastic life. Artistic cultivation, on the other hand, had perhaps gained in the glory—if unmeasured—of Clugniac celebration and liturgical observance, in the splendour of her architectural contribution, and even of her minor literary and other pre-occupations. If, as it has been truly said, it was Benedictinism which was still dominant in the early twelfth century it was Clugniac Benedictinism. Clugny still stood for all that was great, ordered and beautiful in the monastic life, at the opening of the twelfth century. All the more violent therefore was the shock of the impact of the reform of Cîteaux with its amazing insistence upon a return to the literal interpretation of the Rule of St. Benedict, its vehement and passionate protest against, and repudiation of, all those accredited modifications and additions which the wisdom of the centuries, it seemed, had built about the ancient Rule. It is precisely here in this conflict of Rule and interpretation, in the attempt to rend away the latter and return to the literal sense and use of the former, that we find our material for the closer study, not merely of Benedictinism, but of the fundamental principles of monasticism and their working in mediæval

[1] *Archives de la France Monastique.* Revue Mabillion. Paris, 1905. Cf. Dom Besse's article *L'ordre de Clugny et son gouvernement.* Cf. also Dom Berlière, *Revue d'hist. eccles.* 1901, pp. 253 *et seq. Les origines de Cîteaux et l'ordre Bénéd. au XII^me^ siècle*, and Dr. Egger: *Geschichte der Cluniazenser-Klöster in der Westschweiz* (*Freiburger Studien*, 1907), p. 74.

[2] Berlière, *loc. cit.*

history at this date. In such a conflict one may hope to separate the essential from the accidental.

It was from Molême,[1] in the diocese of Langres, in the year 1098, that the challenge came. This famous house was the mother alike of Citeaux and of La Grande Chartreuse, of the Cistercian and in a wider sense of the Carthusian orders respectively. It was the cradle therefore of twelfth century monastic and religious reform, the source which, if I mistake not, has been described as the watershed of the two movements which renewed religious life in Europe in the twelfth century. If the Cistercian movement was undoubtedly the greater for our period and is more illuminatingly recorded, the persistent character of the Carthusian, in its perhaps even deeper current, entitles it to a high place in the history of mediæval religious reform and more especially of monasticism, whose original standards it restored and maintained within its own borders in a manner rare in human history. But for our purpose the wider movement with its immense contribution to the religious life of the century in Europe, to say nothing of that which it gave to the foundations of law and order in the state must be preferred.

The true character of Molême is hard to arrive at. Its importance is obvious from what has already been said. Laurent says it is the meeting-place of Clugny and Citeaux. But its real character is harder to arrive at. Why it just failed of itself leading the reform, of becoming in fact what Citeaux was to the Cistercian movement, or La Grande Chartreuse to the Carthusian, is obscure. But that there must have been elements of a large generosity, as well as of narrowness, in its overflowing life, qualities of insight, toleration and liberality—perhaps at war with reactionary elements—is abundantly clear from the character, generous on the whole, if fluctuating, of its treatment of its two great reformers, Robert [2] and Bruno. Manrique and Laurent [3] alike attribute to Molême a great position, and the former regards her as a mixed society, part advancing with and cleaving to Robert, part

[1] Laurent (Jacques): *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Molême* (916-1250), 2 vols. Paris, 1907-11, t. 1, pp. 111 *et seq.*

[2] *Exordium Parvum ap.* Guignard, *Monuments Primitifs de la règle Cistercienne*, pp. 61 *et seq.*, and Manrique, *Annales Cistercienses*, I., pp. 4 *et seq.*

[3] *Loc. cit.*

reactionary, the one part triumphing at one time, the other at another. Laurent, while claiming that the famous reform of Benedictine discipline began here, thinks that some loss of early severity may in all probability have been suffered, which prevented her from becoming the nursing mother and home of the reform which was born of her, and also that the accident of these difficulities and differences in the house itself took from Molême the glory which fell to Citeaux. Her reformers had to go forth to realise their ideals. The probability of some such deterioration at Molême seems borne out by the apparently decreasing toleration and growing difficulty which Robert the second reformer had to face. To the earlier, Bruno, if she did not offer the opportunity of working out his scheme within the house itself, she gave that of doing so within her borders by the gift of a piece of land, Sèche Fontaine, which she had herself recently received (in 1081), as the ground for his experiment. Here he afterwards elaborated his famous Rule, that adaptation and union of the common and the solitary life which in many respects stood better than any other the action of time and the incoming of worldly influence. Of this he must have dreamed at Molême. At Molême, too, St. Robert began to think out his greater and more far-reaching reform. Here he initiated the impulse which, under the shaping hand of Stephen Harding and the mighty impulse of St. Bernard himself, it is not too much to say, swept into its current the whole religious life of Western Europe in the twelfth century. We may accept then the fact of the larger elements in the overflowing life of Molême which permitted, if not whole-heartedly, the work of two such men as St. Bruno and St. Robert, and we may allow that it was the source, if not the home, of these two great movements of reform.

For the actual story of the Cistercian exodus we must turn to the former of the two series of documents above-mentioned, and take its account of the rise of the Cistercian Order, which was the outcome of, and embodied in itself for long the history of, the great religious revival of the twelfth century.

The group for our purpose is composed of (i) The *Exordium Cisterciense* (known as the *Exordium Parvum* to distinguish it from the larger, less authentic work, the *Exordium Magnum*); (ii) The *Carta Caritatis*; and (iii) The *Consuetudines Cistercienses*. They are given by Séjalon, *Nomasticon Cisterciense* seu *Antiquioris*

Ordinis Cisterciensis (ed. Séjalon ; Solesme, 1892), and in the more easily accessible work of Guignard, *Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne* (Dijon, 1876), as well as in Migne's monumental work. Tersely, in broad, firm outline, they lay down the origin, principles, and early history of the movement ; its sanctions and the authority it could claim for its daily life in the monasteries which became its home, for its existence in fact. These documents were probably in the main the work of one of the chief actors in the drama, Stephen Harding, the Englishman from Swinburne in Dorset, afterwards third abbot of Citeaux, helped by the other early abbots, especially Alberic, second abbot. The work of Stephen Harding, humble in character and overshadowed in the history of the Order by that of St. Bernard, is of hardly less importance to that history by reason of its enduring influence thereon, and also upon the life and history of monasticism at large. Stephen Harding was not only a pioneer of religious reform in the twelfth century, he was one of the great legislators of the monastic life and, with far-reaching vision, he guarded his work for the future of his Order (which he in all probability alone had in view) by the series of documents which have come down to us and enable us to study the movement with a completeness and confidence which the history of few other movements of this time can inspire. The *Exordium*, and in the first place the *Instituta* therein contained, lay bare not only the early source of the movement, but the very motives and impulse of its leaders, the founders of Citeaux, its principles and the way in which it differed from prevailing monastic (i.e. Benedictine) practice.

Let us then in the first place, turn to the *Exordium*[1] and see how the Cistercian founders took the path of reform at the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century, the difficulties they met with, and the support and sanctions which enabled them to pursue it, and victoriously to carry to a successful conclusion their audacious experiment. This was to offer to the age, in all humility, a fresh interpretation of an accepted way of life, and indeed an innovation upon existing practice which amounted almost to a new beginning in one of the most important fields of the life of the Church, and yet

[1] Cp. Guignard, *Monuments primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne*, pp. 61 *et seq.*

maintain, and indeed establish themselves, within the ancient order of that Church.

Who were they—these monks of the obscure and newly-founded house of Citeaux in the diocese of Chalon in Burgundy—who dared to differ from the great and ancient Benedictine houses of their time, more especially from the thrice-famous Clugniac group, and not only differ, but offer in a sense a challenge, to its interpretation and practice of the common Benedictine Rule? It behoved them to walk warily, and Stephen Harding in the *Exordium* shows how profoundly conscious they were of this by putting on record for future generations all the sanctions from Pope and bishop, all the authority they had for the new way of life which is there also fully laid down. With this record he placed, and for both procured papal sanction, the *Carta Caritatis*—the Charter of Love—in which the constitution of the Order is laid down. The documents were first presented to Calixtus II. (the great Pope who made the Concordat of Worms) in 1119, confirmed by him, and afterwards by Eugenius III. in 1152. The writers describe themselves, in their opening words as: 'we, Cistercians, first founders of this Church, desirous of putting on record for those who should come after, under what sanctions and by whom the work had been done, that they might love the place and the observance they had instituted, pray for those who had there borne the burden and heat of the day and walk in the straight and narrow way they had pointed out until they reached the eternal rest.'[1]

It was on Palm Sunday, 21st March in 1098, that Robert of Molême led out his little band of eighteen monks with the prior and sub-prior, twenty-one in all, from Molême where in their opinion the Rule of St. Benedict was too tepidly and negligently[2] kept, and took their way northward into the diocese of Chalon, there to found Citeaux and return to the primitive rigour of the Rule of St. Benedict and his early companions. The whole story is told in the *Exordium*. Some of the monks apparently had been previously despatched to Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons and Legate of the Apostolic See, to tell him of their desire to shape their lives according to the Rule of Benedict, and to beg his help and apostolic authority for so doing.

[1] *Exordium. ap.* Guignard, *loc. cit.*, p. 61.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 62 'tepide et negligenter.'

The Legate heard them favourably, and laid the legal foundation of the famous Cistercian structure in a letter in which he stated the reasons of Robert and his friends for their resolve to go forth, gave his formal approval of their scheme, and granted apostolic authority under seal for the execution of their 'holy purpose.' Armed with this authority the monks had returned to Molême and soon after set forth once more with the rest and took their way to Cîteaux in the diocese of Chalon, a remote and savage spot almost inaccessible by reason of thorns, and inhabited by wild creatures only. Its very remoteness and wildness seemed to the monks to mark it out specially for their purpose, and procuring the assent of the bishop of Chalon and the lord of the land, they at once began to build there. Already before leaving Molême they had sorrowfully talked together of their vow, their profession of the Rule of St. Benedict and its poor and lax fulfilment. So now they had come to this solitude with the single purpose of following in its completeness the said Rule. The Lord Odo, Duke of Burgundy, delighted with their fervour and moved also by letters from the aforesaid legate, finished at his own cost the monastery of wood they had begun, provided them with all necessaries, and endowed them with gifts of land and cattle. The Bishop of Chalon, meanwhile, at the bidding of the legate definitely bestowed upon Robert the pastoral staff and care of the monks, and established them firmly so that their Church and foundation rose in due form with apostolic authority to the position of an abbey.

But Molême regretted its lost abbot and brethren. Monks were despatched by the new abbot Geoffrey to Rome itself to demand the return of Robert. Urban II. listened to their plea and issued a mandate to the legate Hugh bidding him, if possible, to send Robert back to Molême, but to allow the monks to remain in peace at Cîteaux. The papal letter gives the reason for this in the prayer of the monks of Molême, and in their showing that religion at Molême had suffered (been overthrown) through the absence of their abbot, and that they themselves were held in odium by the neighbouring princes and others. On receiving the papal letter the legate, Hugh, took counsel and drew up a formal judgment embodied in a decree upon the whole matter at issue between Molême and Cîteaux. This he addressed to Robert, bishop of Langres, in whose diocese Molême stood, and who had confirmed by letters the statement of the Molême monks that the

house had suffered through the removal of its abbot, Robert, and strengthened their petition for his return. He added, too, that Geoffrey, the present abbot, had come to him and was willing to give place to Robert. The legate then summarised the result of his deliberation on the whole situation. It was that Robert should be restored to Molême provided that he went first to the Bishop of Chalon and placed in his hand the pastoral staff, renouncing the care of the new abbey to which he had been instituted by him, and releasing the monks who had promised him obedience from that obedience and profession. He gave permission also for the monks who had come with Robert from Molême to return thither, and commended Robert to the affection of his old monks, apparently to be restored to his abbey with the promise that, if he again deserted, no other abbot should be appointed within the lifetime of the said Geoffrey without his consent. What Robert had brought in the form of vestments, etc., from Molême, and given to the Bishop of Chalon and the new monastery, were to remain to that house, save a certain Breviary. This they were to keep until St. John the Baptist's Day, and copy it, with the consent of the monks of Molême. A good many bishops, abbots and others were present and witnessed this whole decision. Walter, Bishop of Chalon, duly released Robert from the new house of Cîteaux, and the latter went back with a few monks who did not love the desert. The two houses by these dispositions remained at peace and in liberty, and Robert carried with him to his bishop Robert, Bishop of Langres, a letter from Walter, Bishop of Chalon, commending him to an honorable welcome as freed by the legate's decision from the profession and obedience he had given to the Church at Chalon, and telling him how Robert had released the monks from their obedience. So the difficult and delicate position was eased.[1] Meanwhile the bereaved Church at Cîteaux met on Robert's departure and by a regular election chose brother Alberic to be abbot. Alberic was a cultivated man, learned in many things divine and human, a lover of the Rule and of the brethren. He had been prior for long both at Molême and at Cîteaux, had laboured much in the matter of bringing the brothers from Molême, and had suffered blame, imprisonment, and stripes.

[1] *Exordium*, ap. Guignard, *loc. cit.*, pp. 64 *et seq.* See also my article ap. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, viii. (1893), pp. 627 *et seq.* and footnote.

Unwillingly Alberic received the pastoral charge and at once in all prudence began to think of the storms and tribulations which might break upon the house entrusted to him. Looking into the future, he despatched two monks to Rome praying the lord Pope Paschal through them to place their Church under apostolic protection, free from pressure from other Churches or secular persons forever. These brothers, bearing letters from Archbishop Hugh and two Roman Cardinals, also from Walter, Bishop of Chalon, went safely to Rome and returned (before Pope Paschal sinned in the power of the Emperor)[1] bearing with them the apostolic privilege granting all that the abbot and his companions asked. These letters, with the Roman privilege, are entered in the *Exordium*, that those to come after might understand with what consultation and high sanction the Church of the monks at Cîteaux had been founded. The letters commend the brethren at Cîteaux to Pope Paschal, asking him to confirm in perpetuity the mandate or precept of Pope Urban to the brethren, and to free them forever from all danger of molestation and annoyance because of their departure from Molême, the cause of which was their desire to keep more sincerely and simply the Benedictine Rule. The letters explain the matter fully to the Pope, and the Bishop of Chalon, more especially asks him to free the house forever from all danger of molestations, saving the rights of himself and his successors the Bishops of Chalon. The obedience of the house to the bishop of the diocese is affirmed in act again and again, and there is little doubt that canonical obedience was a fundamental principle in the initial impulse of the Cistercian reform, and for a time was maintained as such.[2] Paschal II.'s bull *Desiderium quod* (1100) then follows and is given to Alberic, abbot of the new monastery, and his successors forever, and provides for their safety and freedom—*salva Cabilonensis ecclesie canonica reverentia.* Their religious purpose under God's inspiration is to be fulfilled without delay: 'Whence we, oh beloved sons in the Lord, receive your petition over-riding all difficulty.' The abbey is taken under the special protection of the Holy See (with the above

[1] *Exordium, loc. cit.*, p. 67. An allusion apparently to the surrender of Pope Paschal of the right of investiture (April, 1111) to the Emperor Henry V.

[2] Cf. St. Bernard on this point *de Consideratione*, lib. lii., c. iv.; Bern. *Opp.*, I., p. 769, ap. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, t. 182.

proviso as to the rights of Chalon), no one is to molest their way of life, nor receive their monks, and the whole arrangement with Molême is certified and confirmed. The monks are reminded that, as they have chosen a severer and remoter way of life, they should keep themselves worthy of the same by the love and devotion of their hearts to God.[1]

From this time the abbot and brethren unanimously resolved to lay down the Benedictine Rule once more and keep it, rejecting all that infringed upon it in clothing, bedding and food. With this object they drew up their first regulations, probably about 1101.[2]

In things ecclesiastical as in others they confined themselves strictly to the Rule, putting off the old man and putting on the new man, and since they found neither in the Rule nor in the way of life of St. Benedict that the saint possessed churches or altars, offerings or burial-grounds, or tithes belonging to other men, bake-houses or mills or serfs, they renounced all these things and proceeded to enter upon a life of complete poverty. Even tithe itself they could not justify and renounced as an unjust usurpation. What they did find was that the monk worked and lived on his land with the cattle, and this they adopted as the method of sustenance for themselves and the guests who came to them. In this connexion they adopted and made their own distinctive usage the employment of lay brethren, *conversi*, on their lands, and these they treated exactly as themselves, saving the monastic estate.[3] They even had some paid labour, finding that without some dilution of this sort they could not devote themselves day and night to the keeping of the Rule, seeing that they were to have lands far from men's habitation, vineyard, meadow and wood, waters for mills (for their own use only) and for fishing, barns and cattle and all the other things ministering to the needs of men. And if anywhere they had granges (farms), which as a rule they came to have for agricultural purposes, they enacted that *conversi*, not monks, should preside over them : monks should, according to the Rule, live in the cloister. And as they saw that St. Benedict had not built his houses in towns but far removed from the haunts of men, they undertook to follow him in this and laid down the rule that the new houses should be manned by

[1] *Exordium, loc. cit.*, pp. 70-71.
[2] See my article in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, viii. (1893), pp. 628 *et seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 629, and footnote.

twelve monks and an abbot. The effect of this legislation was quickly obvious. To the sorrow of the brethren seldom did anyone join them. How, then, could they hand on the treasure committed to them? Almost all who saw or knew of their unheard-of austerities fled. But the pity of God Who had breathed His Spirit into this little band ceased not to sustain, advance and perfect their efforts.[1]

Abbot Alberic after nine and a half years of rule died, and was succeeded by Stephen Harding, the Englishman, and reputed author of the *Exordium* itself. He had come out with the others from Molême, and it was now, apparently, that the brethren went further in their excess of severe isolation by prohibiting laymen from coming to their church, as they had been wont to do for various solemnities. Moreover, that they might retain in the daily and nightly services of the church that poverty of spirit which they had chosen, they made more stringent the renunciation of gold and silver crucifixes; only painted wood was to be used for this purpose. Only one candlestick of iron was allowed and the censers were to be of brass or iron. Gold and silver were banished from the vestments which were to be mainly of linen; certain vestments, such as copes, dalmatics, and tunics, were to be abolished altogether. Long vestments might be used in processions, not at Mass. Plain linen altar-cloths without any pictures were to be used, and the chalices were not to be of silver or gold.[2]

In those days the brethren increased in land and vineyards, but were profoundly distressed—'at the gate of despair'—for the reason that their number did not grow, and that the succession seemed to be failing.[3]

It was at this critical juncture, by the grace of God, that Bernard and his little band of thirty companions, consisting of clergy, learned and noble, with laymen of promise in the world, and well-born knights, came with eagerness, entered that church and there consummated their career and course (lit.). Following their example, old and young, men of all ages, realising that that which before they had feared, in their manner of keeping the Rule, was now possible, followed thither to bow their wills under the yoke of Christ.[4] It was here, then, at the fountain head of the movement, at Citeaux itself, that St. Bernard the great propagator of the reform, the man whose history comprised in

[1] *Exordium, loc. cit.*, p. 73.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

itself that of Western Europe for a generation, caught the flame of its burning zeal and piety, and it was St. Bernard who swept into the current of its life that of the age itself.

Thus the Cistercian revival of twelfth century religion took its rise. It was first and foremost a return to first principles—a literal reading of the Rule of life of Western monasticism. But it was more than that. It was a passionate embracing again of ideas which have been perennially revived and perennially fruitful throughout the history of the Christian Church. If St. Francis surrounded his embrace of the Lady Poverty with poetic grace and fire, the Cistercian found his inspiration at the same source. His revival was no less a return to simplicity, to poverty, to hardness, to the straitest path of Christian endeavour. And his appeal succeeded, even as the later Mendicants' appeal succeeded, even as the same appeal has succeeded again and again in the history of the Church, and indeed has rarely failed. Citeaux quickly overflowed and became the training ground and missionary centre of the movement which, as has been said, swept over Western Europe, the frontiers of states offering no barrier, and, reaching the far-off shores of England, Scotland and even Norway before the middle of the century, bore in its current a renewal of the life of the whole Church. The actual numbers of the Cistercian houses, great as they were,—they probably reached more than 500[1] in the West before the end of the century—bore no proportion to the far-reaching penetration of the movement. That the vast work it accomplished was largely due to the influence of St. Bernard of Clairvaux for the first generation is true, but behind that great personality which made itself, as it has been truly said, the centre of the life of Europe for thirty years, was the flaming torrent of moral force and energy—the Puritanism of the reform of Citeaux.

In England the early propagation of the movement[2] largely co-

[1] Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Congreg. der Kath. Kirche.*, I., pp. 427 *et seq.*, has one of the best analyses of the spread of the order, its members, etc. The decree of the Chapter General of 1152, cf. Guignard, *Monuments Primitifs*, p. 273, was a mere check. Cf. Janauschek: *Originum Cist.*, t. I., p. v. Robert of Torigni (*ap.* Martène et Durand, *Thesaurus Novus*, p. 1311) does not go so far as this.

[2] Cf. my article in *Eng. Hist. Review*, viii. (1893), *The Settlement of the Cistercians in England.* Cf. also *S. Bern. Vita Prima* ap. Migne, t. 185, *Pat. Lat.*, p. 297, for the archiepiscopal and episcopal sees held by monks of Clairvaux alone.

incided with the disastrous reign of Stephen. A very cursory examination of the statements of contemporary chroniclers, William of Newburgh, Henry of Huntingdon, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle itself— 'everyone . . . did that which was right in his own eyes,' and 'there was no peace in the Realme,' 'everything was wiped out by slaughter, fire and rapine,' and comparison with the Cistercian records of the individual houses of the time reveals once more the fact of the fierce reaction in religion at this time against the hideous disorder, violence and degradation of life in general. There were, even in England and Wales, fifty Cistercian houses before the desolate reign of Stephen closed, and one hundred before the close of the century.

But the actual force and achievement of a movement of this kind defies measurement and eludes the historian in his attempted diagnosis of cause and effect. That it bore within it a mighty current in the religious life of Europe is clear, and not only was this true of the West where its houses were more numerous, but, through its influence on the kindred Augustinian movements, more especially that of the Premonstratensian Canons, of those border lands in the North-East where Slav and Teuton were struggling for the mastery, and where the Premonstratensian houses not only carried Christianity but powerfully reinforced the Germanising movement which at that time was pressing forward in those Eastern lands.

But leaving aside for the moment the influence of the Cistercian movement upon others of its time, its principles are sufficiently obvious. It was, as has been said, in essence Puritan, a return to the strictness of the letter of the Benedictine Rule, as opposed to the considered and, it would seem, wise mitigation thereof which the action of time and circumstance had brought about, and for which to a certain extent, St. Benedict's own broad wisdom had prepared the way. But the departure had been wide undoubtedly, and from more than the letter. In some fundamental points, as in the return to manual work, the Cistercian reform had touched the basis—the very groundwork of Benedictine or Western monasticism. St. Benedict had never neglected the *Opus Dei* and yet he had laid down manual work, viz. work in the fields, as an essential element in the life of the house. This had indeed, it has been truly said, given its character to Western monasticism, had most markedly differentiated it from that of the East.

Moreover, it had worked out to enormous usefulness in the life and service of Europe, and had helped to make Benedictinism the nursing mother of Western civilisation. Under Clugny the *Opus Dei* had usurped the place of manual work, displaced it in fact, with infinite loss to Benedictinism as a whole, and Clugniac Benedictinism in particular. That the Cistercian reform hit hard at existing practice in this respect there is no shadow of doubt.[1] The impact of the new upon the old was nowhere more marked than here.

To this aspect of the Cistercian movement we must now turn. What of the impact of this new life upon the older monasticism? What of its reception by the religious world into which it broke like a storm, rending and destroying as well as rebuilding?

For this side of the question—for our purpose the most illuminating—we must turn to the second series of documents above-mentioned. Some of these are fairly well known; others are not. Let us begin with a brief notice of the former.

It has been suggested that the famous controversy[2] between St. Bernard and Peter the Venerable formerly dated in 1127 was opened, not by the former, as is generally supposed, but by the latter, that is by Peter the Venerable, in a letter written about 1124, soon after his election at Clugny. In it, Peter, one of the most attractive figures of the century, in his grace, breadth and tolerance, takes the line (which Cardinal Albano afterwards followed) that the Cistercians attack existing practice even in the *Carta Caritatis* itself which he quotes. He then goes on to give the accusation against Clugny, 'You do not follow the Rule you have set before yourselves . . . nay, with wandering steps you have turned aside to follow . . . devious paths, making your own . . . laws as it pleases you, you call them sacred throwing away the precepts of the Fathers for your tradition. . . .' Then he recites more specifically the things objected to, reception of monks before the year of noviciate is over and of monks who have wandered from elsewhere, the use of costly and luxurious clothing and bedding, of costly and abundant food, the subjugation of the Rule to

[1] Helyot, *Hist. des ordres monastiques*, t. V., p. 349.

[2] The controversy is given from S. Bernard's side in Migne, *Pat., Lat.* t. 182, pp. 895 *et seq.* For Peter the Venerable's letters and works *cf. ib.* t. 189, pp. 112 *et seq.* Cf. Vacandard, *Vie de S. Bernard*, II., 164-5, and elsewhere for date, etc., also Migne's own introductions.

themselves instead of vice versa, the alteration and rejection of fasts, the rejection of manual work, prostration to guests as to Christ in them, devotion in the fields, the escape from the jurisdiction of their own bishop,[1] the holding of parish churches which do not belong to monks but to clerks.

These are the general charges Peter gives and to which he replies. First as to clothing—he appeals to the gospel, to the needs of men, to necessity and change of times, to the Councils, Popes, etc. They, the Clugniacs, try he says, to prove all things, that they may provide salvation for souls. They find much upon these things in the canons made sacred by the Fathers and by later men judging according to the changing needs of the times. He quotes the Council of Nicaea as to transgressing ecclesiastical canons in certain circumstances. In other words, he appeals to a larger liberality of interpretation, quoting St. Benedict himself for so doing, and surely not in vain. The great monastic law-giver had designedly left wide possibilities of interpretation according to the needs of age, character, and condition. So of other things the interpretation rests with the abbot. Then in a fine passage he defends diversity of usage. Do they cease to be Christians who differ in usage? As to manual labour, it is, as the Rule says, idleness which is the enemy of the soul. Other work may be done. All do not need to do the same. He keeps the Rule who avoids idleness. To the accusation that they escape the jurisdiction of their own bishop, he says they have the best of all bishops, the Bishop of Rome. As to possessions and tithe, if the clergy may have the donations of the faithful for baptisms and such services why may not the monks for their prayers? There is here, he thinks, no real opposition. Whatever they (the Clugniacs) think more useful to souls they delay not to do. In charity they follow the Rule, and Peter claims all through the right to alter in charity or love, and that in regard to things in the Rule which have been altered they have been altered in love.[2] Then follows a winged shaft at the vulnerable point perhaps in the Cistercian armour, namely, the exercise of charity or love . . . (. . . in respect of this very administration of the Rule). The Cistercians drive men to

[1] Cf. St. Bernard on this, *de moribus et officio episc. tractatus.* Migne: *Pat. Lat.*, t. 182, pp. 810 *et seq.*

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 157.

murmuring and flight,[1] those who endure lose their health and so cannot serve God, and love is neglected in this. The Rule gives freedom. Necessity varies with temperature. He anticipates the censure that the Rule warns to higher things. Yes, he admits it warns, but it does not enjoin or compel. Why should they compel when the Rule does not? By what authority do they do this? The way of Scripture is to enjoin what is to be enjoined and to warn concerning that which is to be warned. The Cistercians compel. If they loved they would concede necessary things. 'Nothing is of profit without charity—even if I give my body to be burned. . . .'

Peter the Venerable is the ablest exponent of the point of view opposed to that of the Cistercian Reform, and the spirit in which he argues is almost modern in its breadth and tolerant wisdom. His side is even more startlingly expressed in another document published by Dom Berlière.[2] It is a letter from Cardinal Matthieu Albano (1131-32) to the abbots of the Rheims province after the Council at Rheims had resolved that the Clugniac ecclesiastical offices should be cut down and simplified, and so justified a large measure of the Cistercian reform. But before we look at this, the official side of the defence, let us turn for a moment to the other protagonist in the controversy, the real representative to the age of the reform movement and its most powerful exponent, St. Bernard. It was in answer to Peter the Venerable, it is now suggested, and not merely at the request of the Clugniac, William of Saint Thierry, that St. Bernard wrote his famous *Apologia ad Guillelmum S. Theoderici Abbatem*, written in 1125. Migne places this among St. Bernard's treatises and also dates it 1125.[3] It is divided, as St. Bernard himself indicates in his 'little preface,' into two parts. In the first part St. Bernard endeavours to meet the charge that the Cistercians are detractors of the Clugniacs. In the second he goes on to take objection to the superfluities of the latter in food, clothing, etc. That his task is a difficult and delicate one he

[1] We are indebted to Dom Berlière not only for the publication of certain of the documents which follow, but for very valuable comments upon this whole subject, *loc. cit.* Cf. also in *Revue d'hist. ecclésiastique*, 1901, pp. 253 *et seq.*, *Les origines de Cîteaux et l'Ordre Bened. au XII^me siècle.*

[2] *Documents Inédits pour servir à l'hist de l'église de la Belgique*, *loc. cit.* I., pp. 94-102.

[3] Migne: *Pat. Lat.*, t. 182, pp. 895 *et seq.*

admits at the outset, and how to discharge it without scandal he fails to see. It is at once to refute the charge of Clugny, that the Cistercians are detractors of Clugny, and himself to criticise her. To the former task he first addresses himself, in his letter to William, for how dare he be silent when it is being said that they, the Cistercians, most abject of men—*de cavernis*—dare to judge the world, and from the shadow of their obscurity impudently to detract from the most glorious order of Clugny and the holy men who live there as lights of the world. If, indeed, they do this and think contemptuously of those who are better than themselves, what avail is their poverty and austerity of life, their vile raiment and their daily toil, their fasts and their vigils? But who ever heard him (Bernard) dispute about that order or even murmur against it? Whom of their ranks has he ever seen save with joy, received save with honour, spoken to save with reverence, exhorted save with humility? I said and I say, he says, their way of life is holy and honourable, fair and seemly in its chastity, distinguished in its discretion, laid down by the Fathers, pre-ordained by the Holy Spirit, and adapted in no small degree to the salvation of souls. Is it that I object to a diversity of order and regulation in the Church?

But, though he knows that the Kingdom of God does not depend on rule and observance, and that love must be supreme, he does differ and now enters the lists, as it were, of disputation not *against* but *for* that Order, not blaming the Order itself but the vices of men. He then opens a mighty attack upon the latter, disguised under the name of virtues and *vice versa*, for lo! spareness is thought to be avarice, sobriety austerity, silence sadness. On the other hand laxity is called discretion, profusion liberality, garrulousness affability, silly laughter gladness, soft raiment and stately trappings of houses fitness, unnecessary care of beds cleanliness.[1] *Cumque haec alterutrum impendimus* it is called *charitas*. That [charity or] love destroys itself. *Ista charitas destruit charitatem*. Then follows a detailed attack on their food and drink—the twice and thrice filling of the cup *videas uno in prandio ter vel quater, semi-plenum calicem reportari*, their beds and their clothing, etc. Why do their superiors not correct them in these things? Is it that no one faithfully corrects that in which he has no confidence that he is himself beyond reproach?

[1] Migne: *Pat. Lat.*, t. 182, pp. 908 *et seq.*

. . . But these are small things . . . I come . . . to greater. . . .[1] I pass over the height, the length, the breadth, the sumptuous adornments and beautiful paintings of your oratories. What has gold to do with a saint? Here too St. Bernard draws a distinction. The case of the bishop is different from that of the monk. They—the bishops—owe duty to the foolish as well as to the wise and when they fail with spiritual inducements use those of the flesh to move them to devotion. But we who have come out from the world, who have renounced all precious and beautiful things for Christ's sake . . . whose love do we strive to arouse by such means? What fruit are we seeking from them? . . . Then follows a list of the beautiful things done and seen in Clugniac churches. What, he asks, is the object of all this? Is it the piercing of the heart of the penitent, or is it the admiration of those who look thereon? Oh vanity. . . . The Church glows in her walls and fails her poor. She puts gold on her stones and leaves her sons naked. The curious find in these things delight, the miserable do not find sustenance. As to their beautiful pavements he asks, why do you adorn that which is so soon defiled? Why do you paint that which is to be trodden under-foot? . . . What are such things to the monk—to the man of the spirit? Of the figures in the cloisters—the many-headed, many bodied things, so numerous and so wonderful that one would rather read the marbles than books and spend the whole day wondering before them rather than in meditation on the law of God—alas! he says, if the folly of it did not make them ashamed surely the expense should. . . . At the close St. Bernard returns more quietly again to an exhortation to peace and charity—to suspension of judgment, for these things are right for some, not for others.

Such is the Cistercian attack whether opened by them or in answer to challenge. It is in effect, though in form an *apologia*, the Cistercian attack upon the Clugniac interpretation of St. Benedict's Rule. It is directed against the accepted interpretation of the religious[2] life of the time. It reveals the essence of the Cistercian reform which was a return to first principles, to primitive rigour, to the letter of the Rule of St. Benedict, an interpretation of the spirit

[1] Migne: *Pat. Lat.*, t. 182, pp. 914 *et seq.*

[2] In the special sense of ordered life—life *in religione* as opposed to that *in saeculo* or in the world.

in the terms of the letter entirely opposed to the prevailing practice of the time. Could anything be more characteristic of the timeless Puritan spirit whensoever and wheresoever it appears? This was the form taken by the twelfth century revival of religion, and the conflict it aroused formed the religious controversy of the twelfth century as it has shaped that of other centuries far later in time and profoundly different in ideal. That it cut deep into the conscience of the time is clear from the reforms it enforced even upon Clugny under Peter the Venerable himself.[1] St. Bernard had touched upon vulnerable points in the great house and its system. Certainly the charges—though not directed against central issues of conduct—go far and deep. Peter's defence is in the very highest spirit of the twelfth and even of some later centuries, and appeals to the modern mind in a manner in which St. Bernard's *Apologia* entirely fails to do. But what of the times? St. Bernard—the last of the Fathers—was a great 'watchman' and the twelfth century was the judge. The Cistercian won and struck deep into the conscience and heart of the age.

The impact of the new movement upon the older life is shown elsewhere. Not alone is it to be followed in the controversy between the two great representatives of the sides. It is revealed as a widely discussed issue among all sorts and conditions of religious men, filling the whole of the century, and deeply penetrating and influencing the life of the Church. Some five years or so after the publication of Bernard's *Apologia* the abbots of the Rheims province, in a Council held at Rheims in 1131, inaugurated certain reforms—the reduction of liturgical prayer in their houses, and the strengthening of the law of silence. This attests Cistercian influence, and Dom Berlière points out that from the Council of Rheims may be dated the reaction against Clugniac custom which had prevailed hitherto.[2]

Here, too, in the official world the impact gave rise to discussion, and the effect of the reform is shown in a striking manner by a dispute which arose between the said abbots and Cardinal Mathieu Albano, papal legate. The latter had been Prior of St. Martin-des-Champs in Paris and was afterwards Cardinal Bishop of Albano, a Clugniac, says Dom Berlière, from the bottom of his soul. His letter, which

[1] Cf. Migne: *Pat. Lat.*, for Peter the Venerable's works, t. 189; and Migne's note, t. 182, p. 895.

[2] *Loc. cit., Les origines de Cîteaux et l'ordre Benéd. au XII^me siècle.*

Dom Berlière has published,[1] is invaluable for our purpose and may be taken to illustrate the official view of the impact. It expresses in a striking manner the older method of traditional observance and acceptation in opposition to incoming change. In this letter which was writen 1131-32 'to the Benedictine abbots of the Chapter of Rheims' from the Cardinal Legate, the latter opposes the reforms resolved upon at Rheims. He objects to absolute silence which not even the Carthusians impose, he says. Silence is very good in moderation and in the right place.[2] The Rule of St. Benedict and Scripture alike condemn absolute silence. He objects moreover to the multiplication of orders.[3] He is amazed that they have cut down the psalms and left out not a few but many. Surely this is a mistake: *Silencium imposuistis psalmos abjecistis opera manum nequa quam facitis.*[4] You have imposed silence, rejected psalms, and yet you do not do manual work. They should choose other hours and go out to agriculture or wood-cutting or other operations of the hands, or study in the cloister in the silence, or else keep the longer psalmody. But, inasmuch as rural and manual work at this time and in many places is neither good nor expedient, our Fathers imposed an immense labour of psalmody and other observances, which are far harder than cutting wood or dragging stones. What then is this new regulation imposing silence, cutting down psalmody and not going out to work? He has heard too that famous solemnities are disregarded and the reading of the gospel—that is the hearing of Christ himself—substituted.[5] In short, Cardinal Albano in the name of the older observance makes a great protest against the recent reforms.

But the answer of the abbots shows how the influence of Cîteaux was acting upon the older orders.[6] We have sworn, they say, not to the Clugniac customs or regulations but to the Rule of St. Benedict. Do we destroy those customs by the Rule? No, we maintain them. The customs or regulations ordained by religious and spiritual men, are of God and are in aid of the Rule, not for its destruction. They have only altered them a little in fasting, in silence, and in certain other points that they may come nearer to the Rule.

[1] *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire éccles. de la Belgique*, I., pp. 94-102. Maredsous, 1894.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 95-6. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 96. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 100.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 101. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 103-4.

This is a significant and striking answer to the criticisms of Cardinal Albano. The abbots go on to answer special points more fully—about silence for instance. It is not absolute. About the cutting down of the psalms, they quote the Apostle 'I would rather speak five words with my understanding than ten thousand without,' and cite St. Benedict's Rule and the Fathers, reaffirming that they have not condemned Clugniac custom or regulation (*consuetudines*) nor rejected it.

Cardinal Albano, like Peter the Venerable, seems to have been constrained to fall in with the reform movement.

Chapters became the rule in the Rheims province[1] from 1131, and apparently Cardinal Albano held one at Clugny in 1132, at which a large number of priors were present.

The most illuminating document for our purpose is one which is least known, the *Dialogus inter Cluniacensem monachum et Cisterciensem.* It is published by Martène et Durand[2] and is attributed to about the middle of the century—that is between the year of St. Bernard's death (1153) and that of his canonisation (1174). It is, as the title shows, a dialogue between a Clugniac and a Cistercian, the subject matter being the new and reformed order of Citeaux, or rather the reform of Citeaux itself, and it reveals the point of view not of the great leaders of the movement, nor of the official world, but of the ordinary man, and in this case of the ordinary monk. This is what renders it perhaps the most illuminating of all the documents for our purpose.

The Cistercian had passed over from Clugny to Citeaux by conviction,[3] so presumably was well versed in the points at issue between the two and the differences between their modes of thinking must have been well known to him. In his words one can almost hear the very tones of the seventeenth century English Puritan. The subject matter is widely different of course, and the political element is largely absent—an important exclusion. But even so the attitude of Cistercian towards the final authority in his world, that of the Pope himself, is plainly indicated.

[1] *Documents inédits*, pp. 58 *seq.* *Chapitres Généraux des Monastères Bénédictines des provinces de Rheims et de Sens.*

[2] *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, t. V., pp. 1569 *et seq.* Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1717.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 1574.

In the first place he accuses the Clugniac of reading and teaching the poets in the hours which St. Benedict destined for sacred reading and manual work. The Clugniac replies that they read this literature that they may better understand the Scriptures, and that sacred reading and prayer alternate in their order. *Et sicut vester ordo est activus, quia elegit sibi justum laborem cum Martha; ita noster ordo est contemplativus, quia elegit sibi sanctum otium cum Maria;* and as your Order is active, since it has chosen with Martha holy labour, ours is contemplative, having chosen with Mary holy leisure. To which the Cistercian replies 'thou errest brother not knowing the Scriptures.' The Clugniac apparently claims St. Bernard's letter to William of St. Thierry and another to a Clugniac house at Châlons[1] as being in favour of the Clugniac Order, and says that both were read in Clugniac houses. He then asks where their customs are in opposition to the canons.[2] The Cistercian replies 'in many points' and opens a direct attack upon those points in Clugniac practice which he deems so to be. He instances the weight of their bells which two monks can hardly ring. Their voices are not manly in their liquid sweetness, and St. Ambrose said that the voice should be *plena succi virilis*, full of virile quality, nothing feminine about it. They likewise turn to the East in reading the Gospel against the authority of St. Augustine and the practice of Rome.[3]

But heavier charges lie behind. Daily manual work is omitted and there can be no ordered religious life without this. Shortness of probation is objected to—a month is substituted for a year. More fundamental things often are discussed. The Cistercian distribution of tithe is brought forward. To the Clugniac obedience apparently means obedience to those placed in authority over them (*praelati*), to the Cistercian it means obedience to the Rule, and is to God rather than to man; even the Pope is not to be obeyed rather than Christ.[4] The Clugniac defends his neglect of manual work by the extent of his other labours in reading and prayer, his great liturgical work. He claims that St. Benedict left discretion here in regard to services in the oratory, but the Cistercian says that both manual work and the services may be done, entirely disregarding the Clugniac's urging the long

[1] Cf. *Ep. S. Bern.* ap Migne: *Pat. Lat.*, t. 81.
[2] *Dialogus, loc. cit.*, p. 1585, *et seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 1586. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 1598.

prostration of the body required, which the Cistercian considers to be against reason and the Fathers, and says that all such things as are against reason and the Fathers cannot rightly be called either religious devotion or devoted religion.[1] The Clugniacs do not even keep the hours at the correct time and they sleep in the early morning. Not throughout the year, says the Clugniac humbly. The legitimate probation is not imposed upon novices. This charge is repeated again and again. The Cistercian says Clugniac luxuries are the plunder of the poor, and proceeds to attack their ecclesiastical vestments and their other clothing, furs, etc., and their food, their courses. He says they keep what they like of the Rule and drop the rest. The Clugniac remarks that to have these things with humility is better than to have pride without them, but the Cistercian is unyielding. They must relinquish these things and keep humility. Obedience he reiterates is to the Rule not to the Abbot. From his former experience as a Clugniac the Cistercian points out the peril of the time just after chapter when the house sits at leisure and talks. He sought for ten years but could find no reason why, as the customs enjoin, each one while sitting at leisure and talking should hold a [closed] book on his knee.[2] It is superstition, nothing else. In answer to the Cistercian's quotation of St. Augustine, the Clugniac opens a prolonged controversy astutely replying that St. Augustine wrote of canons, not monks. The Cistercian says whether they will it or not all those who have professed the Rule are monks. Either they are monks or nothing.[3] At last the Clugniac is moved to retaliation and he asks why the Cistercians make themselves so objectionable to the other orders, especially the black monks and regular canons, and advises him to lay aside his presumption. The Cistercian justifies himself and goes on to discuss the canons, especially the so-called Regulars, the Norbertines, for instance, who for pride and vain glory, he says, refuse to be called monks for they wish to be rectors of churches and preachers, and doctors. A monk has not the office of teaching. The canons claim to be in truth clergy, while monks are only so by indulgence. They are wrong, says

[1] *Dialogus*, *loc. cit.*, p. 1601 : Quicquid contra rationem et SS. Patrum statuta praesumuntur, religiosa devotio vel devota religio nequaquam recte dicitur. Itaque longa totius corporis prostratio contra decretum S. Patrum praesumpta.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1613.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 1614.

the Cistercian, in both points, and proceeds to point out that 'Homer nods and the Pontiffs themselves, the Popes, have erred in this distinction between regular canons and monks.' But, says the Clugniac, I have often heard that the successors of Peter, the Roman Pontiffs, do not err. *Ego multotiens audivi quod successores Petri, pontifices Romani, numquam errent.* Not in matters of faith would he presume to think they could, the Cistercian admits, but, nevertheless, since they are men they may by men be deceived. *Nonnumquam quia homines sunt, ab hominibus falli possunt.*[1] The Clugniac is surprised and horrified but this is an illuminating incident in the Dialogue and reveals an attitude in the stiff-necked Puritan of the twelfth century towards the great far-off Head of the mediæval Church, which applied a little differently would not have disgraced an English Puritan of the seventeenth century.

As to work the difference in point of view between the Clugniac and the Cistercian is wide and the gulf impassable. *Quamvis nec in horto nec in agro laboremus* says the Clugniac *ex toto otiosi non sumus.* Although neither in the garden nor in the field do we work yet we are not wholly idle. Some read, others do handicrafts. I know, says the Cistercian, your leisurely works which bear no relation to necessary use and may rightly be called idle . . . rolling gold and with it illuminating capital letters.[2] As for us we give ourselves to things of the field which God created and appointed for our labour; we *all* labour and all live upon our labour. After some other objections they enter upon the real question at issue in the Cistercian reform. Is it the Rule of St. Benedict, or is it that approved by the house he enters that the monk must keep? The Cistercian says, the Rule of St. Benedict is from God and approved by the Roman Pontiff. The Clugniac admits that the Rule is great and perfect but it is too lofty for the average monk and must be interpreted by the abbot. The Cistercian maintains that while the vow is to the Rule it does not exclude the *usus* or custom of the house so long as this does not conflict with the Rule. Then the Clugniac launches his shaft: *Vos Cistercienses quia judaizatis in*

[1] *Dialogus, loc. cit.*, pp. 1618-20. An example of mediæval freedom of speech of which the records offer abundant illustration.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1623.

regula sequentes occidentem litteram.[1] You Cistercians like the Jews follow the letter which killeth.

So the dialogue goes on from the number of courses at table to the great constitutional system of Cistercian government which is contrasted with that of Clugny. Even the remoteness of Cistercian houses from the haunts of men is compared with the Clugniac life near cities. The Cistercians were accused of being always on the road,[2] and the defence to this is of course the reason for the travelling, namely for the general Chapter and the annual visitations by the abbots of their daughter houses, and also the necessity for buying and selling as the Cistercians lack *rusticos et redditus.* The Cistercian claims that his order is united, that religion is preserved in quiet and that this is due to the yearly Chapter. It is the Chapter which controls, even to the deposition of abbots, and unites the order, and for lack of such headship, Clugny suffers.[3]

The points at issue are not of doctrine clearly, nor of the graver matters of conduct. No serious charges are made. But the whole dialogue lays bare, once more, the conflict between those who in the movement of the time for the revival of religion, would return to the literal fulfilment of the Benedictine Rule, and those who would continue to accept the traditional observance and acceptation as modified by time and circumstance. The interest of the discussion is not of course so much for the individual as for the house or the order, and the points are never really political. But the Dialogue throws a bright light upon our study of religious revival in the twelfth century, and brings out marked features of fundamental kinship with many later movements of the same kind.

Such, in broad outline, is the story of the Cistercian revival of twelfth century religion, as it has come down to us. Citeaux had accomplished for her own generation, in the first place, and for succeeding generations in the second, very definite ends and objects, and a study of her work, however slight, must take account of both aspects

[1] *Dialogus, loc. cit.*, pp. 1634-6.

[2] Constant travelling had always been a characteristic of Clugny herself. All novices had had to go to Clugny to be professed, and horse breeding had become one of the labours of Clugny in consequence. Cf. Egger: *Geschichte der Cluniazenser-Klöster in der West-Schweiz* (*Freiburger hist. Studien*, III.), pp. 74-5.

[3] *Dialogus, loc. cit.*, pp. 1641-2.

of that work. In the first place she had led the religious movement of revival throughout the entire Church of the West, briefly indicated above, but of which the actual force and achievement are hard to measure, and elude the historian in his attempted diagnosis of cause and effect. As has been said, it formed a mighty current in the religious life of Europe. This is true not only of the West but, through its influence upon the kindred Augustinian movement, of the Premonstratensian Canons—of those border lands of Eastern Europe, where Slav and Teuton were still struggling for the mastery. Here the Premonstratensian houses powerfully reinforced the latter, and helped to build up German civilisation and to found modern Germany. The Cistercian movement, in its vast work of revival, called to itself all that was young and vigorous in twelfth century religious life. It had by no means attempted to assimilate this young life entirely to its own form, though Cistercian influence was powerful even in this. The new life took every form, canonical and even military, but it sought, and as a rule received the seal of Cistercian approval and support, especially during the life-time of St. Bernard, whose own correspondence throws a flood of light upon its history at this time. All the great movements of the age, whether of thought or action, find their echo either for favour or censure in St. Bernard's letters. He was the centre round which all its effort and all its strife and tumult turned. But it was here, namely in the intellectual awakening of the twelfth century, that the Cistercian movement, in its young intolerant strength, made a large exception in the giving of help and blessing—an exception which after ages have neither forgotten nor forgiven. The conflict between St. Bernard and Abelard reveals both its strength and its weakness to the full. It rejected and repudiated in the sphere of the intellectual life much that was destined to be of inestimable value to future generations, and even very shortly to the Church herself. But it offered in its purity, its passion, nay even in its very intolerance perchance, what the twelfth century needed to make head against the flowing tide of coarseness, of violence, of individual as of civic and feudal cruelty, almost incredible even to a generation which has known a great war. Against all this twelfth century religion, purged and renewed, hurled itself, blindly perhaps and with a passion which swept away, or swept under, for a time at least, much that was of priceless value, as has been said, but a passion nevertheless with which alone it could make head

against the forces arrayed against it. In the feudal and city world alike of the twelfth century the inner order of the states depended largely upon the strong hand of the individual, and as yet little upon the central power which had deputed so much of its sovereign right and duty, and was still merely at the beginning of the struggle to take them back and enforce its will through its own courts. The very character of the century is reflected in that of the religious revival, in the forms it took, in its narrow and intolerant, but instinctive and intelligible rejection of all which could weaken it. This severity, abundantly illustrated in St. Bernard's conflicts both with Abelard and Arnold of Brescia, to the experience of our generation simply registers the force and intensity of the struggle waged.

So much for the main issues for its own generation of a movement whose force and intensity defy alike analysis and measurement. The side issues are hardly less important, and are easier to trace.

In the first place the Cistercian movement enforced large reforms upon the older monasticism. To borrow again the words of Robert of Torigni,[1] used before in this connexion, the abbots of many famous houses which the French kings and other great men had built, but which had become lax through their great wealth, seeing the monks of the new orders of Citeaux and Chartreuse and certain of the canons living this severe life in religion, were ashamed (*rubore suffusi*), and either spontaneously or by request or constraint sent for the monks of the strict houses, and reformed themselves after their example.

In this reform Clugny led the way under Peter the Venerable[1] and Cardinal Albano who apparently helped him. If the most enlightened defenders of the older interpretation, whose words have come down to us, then accepted the reform, the rest had to fall into line in certain respects at any rate. A chapter held at Clugny in 1132 passed a series of reforms for Clugny and her daughter houses. Peter reserved the great principle, however, which guided him, that some precepts were eternal, some subject to change.

The Council of Rheims, in 1131, had extended the use of the

[1] *Tractatus de immutatione ordinis Monachorum*, cap. 1: *de orig. Cist.*, ap. Migne: *Pat. Lat.*, t. 202, pp. 1310 *et seq.*, also cap. 7, p. 1313 *de reform. quorumdam monast.*

[2] For Peter the Venerable's *Statuta Congregatis Cluniacensis*, cf. Migne: *Pat. Lat.*, t. 189, pp. 1023 *et seq.*

chapter, upon the Benedictine houses of that province. A Bull of Innocent II. further did this, and the Lateran Council of 1215 made its use obligatory upon all the orders. It is here in the sphere of government, as will be seen later, that the original contribution of Cistercianism to its own and succeeding generations alike is to be found. In her *Usus* she perhaps borrowed not only from the Benedictine which she restored, but from the Clugniac which she reformed.[1]

But the influence of Citeaux upon her own generation (which she captured) cannot be at all understood without some mention of its unparalleled effect upon the newer, and especially the younger foundations of her time. Undoubtedly here is to be found a large part of the secret of her power. The time-spirit of twelfth century service and devotion found nowhere perhaps fuller or more complete expression than in the military orders. Here Cistercian influence was enormous. The personality of St. Bernard, however, it is hardly too much to say, was supreme here, and his political influence, immeasurably enhanced thereby. Nor was his influence confined by any means to the Spanish Cistercian military orders, such as that of Calatrava for instance. It was admittedly predominant over the Templars at, and before, the Council of Troyes (1126), even though it did not extend to the actual writing of their rule. It was the close association of St. Bernard, not only with the Crusades, but with the knights who fought them, which gave him his immense political power. In Spain the Spanish Cistercian Orders, it has been pointed out, were helping to build up against the Moors states destined to a longer life than those in the East. On East and West alike, however, Bernard's influence was powerfully at work.

But the story of the military orders, as of the Crusades, is a study by itself, and can only be touched upon here, for no appreciation of Cistercian work, however slight, would be complete without it. It belongs in general on its religious side rather to Augustianism than to pure monasticism, save under St. Bernard's direct influence. There is little doubt, I think, that St. Bernard pressed close upon the canons (which the military knights mostly were on their monastic side) that approximation towards pure monasticism which the twelfth century witnessed. Undoubtedly, Cistercian influence upon reformed, as well

[1] Cf. Miss Rose Graham's paper to the *International Histoaical Congress of 1913, The relation of Clugny to some other movements of reform.*

as upon militant Augustianism, at this time, can hardly be exaggerated. It was so strong over the Premonstratensian movement, which bore a relation to the Augustinian closely similar to that which the Cistercian bore to Benedictinism, that a few words about the Premonstratensians must be added here.

Mabillon quotes Larmer of Liége who, in his '*Lives of the Bishops of Verdun*,' compares the two orders of Cîteaux and of Premontré to the two cherubim who overshadowed the Mercy Seat. To follow Cistercian influence, however, upon the Augustinianism of the time would be to take up another line of enquiry, and lead too far away from the special aspect of the religious life of this age which we have chosen. Yet the twelfth century is not without great possibilities for the study of Augustinianism, and even in so slight a sketch of its religious life as is here offered, this second great line of religious and semi-monastic revival must not be wholly overlooked. When it had thrown off its advanced monasticising tendencies, it was destined to lead the way to the future more directly than Cistercianism, and, indeed, to claim there 'wide fields of service.' Less interesting, however, for the twelfth century, it undoubtedly is, just because of its deflection towards pure monasticism whose methods it adopts to a great extent. It is imitative and consequently on the whole, less fruitful on its proper time, in spite of the great work of the Premonstratensian Order.

The work of the Regular Canon who represents at this period—whether associated in name with St. Augustine or not—the revival of Augustinian principles, is perhaps more distinctive, or can at any rate be more easily traced in the eleventh century when it included the work of reincorporation, such as it was, of feudalised Church possessions.[1] The Premonstratensian of the twelfth century far less readily received these possessions. It is more possible then to see in the earlier as in the later time, the special contribution of the canonical as distinct from (and yet allied with) the monastic life, however closely in outward form the two things approximate in the period we are considering. A few years ago the progress of the earlier forms of the Rule, which took the name and based itself upon the principles of St. Augustine, was

[1] Laurent, *loc. cit.*, says to the 'Church feudalised' succeeded the 'Church incorporated,' but he thinks the monks slowly gave back what they had received of these feudalised possessions.

traced from about the middle of the eleventh century,[1] and as it appeared in papal documents towards the close of the century. The first use to which the revived Augustinian monks were put, shows a real, if somewhat quickly obscured, apprehension of the genuine differences between the canonical ideal, which was clerical, and the purely monastic, which was not. In the re-awakening of the lay conscience which is clear through the eleventh century in regard to the possession of churches and tithe (so largely feudalised in the ninth and tenth centuries), and was closely associated with the general movement for clerical celibacy, and separation from worldly life in general, it was to the canons that the appeal was made to take over and serve these churches. The canons in the first place responded to that appeal, received many churches and served them in person. Later, however, the canons in their approximation towards the life of the monks, whose function was quite other, and especially after the Cistercian reform had repudiated the possession of churches, repudiated likewise the cure of souls in the service of these churches, and, again like the monks, appointed vicars to take their places therein.[2] Incidentally, one may remark with Laurent[3] that the movement to restore the infeudated churches stopped short with emancipation and reincorporation in the Church, and for many a long year the parishes failed to recover their own, nay, Dr. Frere thinks they never did recover the impropriated tithe in lay hands. The twelfth century, however, in spite of the fact that it shows the closest approximation of the two ideals monastic and canonical, is not without high testimony to a fundamental recognition of clerical duty as the basis of that of the Regular Canon in the great work of the Premonstratensian Order, which bears the same relation to the Augustinian revival of the twelfth century as that which the Cistercian bears to the Benedictine, and like the latter was a return to first principles.[4] The Premonstratensian movement, while accepting

[1] Cf. Dr. Frere's *Vicissitudes of English Parochial History*. Cf. also Mrs. O'Neill's (Miss Speakman) article in *Owens College Essays*, pp. 57-75.

[2] Dr. Frere's *Vicissitudes of English Parochial History*, pp. 317, *et seq.* Report of the *International Historical Congress*, London, April, 1913. Dr. Frere uses the Council of Westminster to illustrate his point here.

[3] *Loc. cit.*

[4] For the early Premonstratensian statutes themselves, cf. *Analectes de l'ordre de Prémontré*, Bruxelles, 1905, etc. Cf. also Le Page, *Bibliotheca Premon.*, pp. 233, *et seq.*

the broadly monasticising tendency of the time, and, indeed, borrowing largely from the Cistercians, yet returned to the union of the cure of souls with the monastic life of contemplation, that is to clerical work and duty, and regarded it as of the essence of their work, even as St. Thomas afterwards declared it to be. The Premonstratensian founder, St. Norbert, did not fail, it would seem, to recognise the secondary character (*per accidens*) of the monastic side of the canonical life, which was after all what Cardinal Gasquet calls 'the moulding' for their proper work.[1] This is clearly shown in the great missionary and colonising work of the Premonstratensians at this time in East Germany. Heimbucher emphasizes the fundamental character of their work in the 'cure of souls'. St. Norbert did not conceive of their work in terms of action only, or of contemplation only, but as an ideal union of the two. From this fundamental conception there followed not only the great colonising work of the Order, more especially in East Germany, but their church building labours also, for churches were the great centres of that work. The early Premonstratensian houses not only had parochial churches assigned to them, but actually undertook the cure of souls and served those churches in person.[2] A Bull of Celestine III., to Hugh, Abbot of Prémontré expressly says, 'It shall be lawful for you to place four or three of your canons in the parish churches which you have, one of whom you shall present to the diocesan bishop to answer to him concerning spiritual as to you concerning temporal affairs, and the observances of the order. Some of them shall be called Beneficiaries . . . and shall be perpetual, others . . . revocable at will.' But the history of the English houses and indeed of English conciliar action in this regard, hardly bears out the universal application of this fundamental principle, as has been shown

[1] Gasquet: *Collectanea Anglo-Premons.*, 3 vols., Camden Soc., 3rd. ser., 1904-6. In the *Dialogus* above quoted we find complaints of the crossing over of Cistercian monks to the Premonstratensians and *vice versa*. Manrique quotes the papal bull on this point in full, *Annales Cist.*, I., 432-3. This illustrates very clearly the popular confusion as to the difference between monk and canon and indeed probably the close approximation between the two at this period.

[2] Heimbucher, *Ordensgeschichte*, II., p. 50 *et seq.*, especially p. 57, notes a hundred cures in Normandy alone served by Premonstratensians.

by Dr. Frere.[1] The confusion in the popular mind in regard to the work and duty of the canon, as distinct from that of the monk, has been aleady illustrated from the *Dialogus* quoted, where St. Bernard's own action in his attempt to draw close the bonds between the Templars and monasticism, and also perhaps Premonstratensians and Cistercians, may also be mentioned in this connexion ; perhaps also the passing over of monks to Prémontré, and *vice versa*, that of canons to Citeaux, which had to be checked by bull, reveal a certain carelessness of the distinction between monks and canons in actual practice. Needless to say, the Papacy kept the two things distinct, and later when St. Dominic went to Rome to get authorisation for his Order, it was to the Augustinian canons that the Papacy sought to affiliate it in the first place. For our purpose it is, however, only necessary here to allude to the great work of those reformed canons upon the secular clergy, and in the quickening of the pastoral care of souls, which undoubtedly helped immeasurably in the religious revival of the twelfth century. It was the part of the work which the Cistercians themselves not only did not attempt but expressly renounced, and which was left to the Premonstratensians and other reformed canons until they too, later on, fell under the influence of a reformed monasticism which in this regard did not rightly concern them.

The bequest of Citeaux to succeeding generations was unquestionably greatest in the sphere of government, and is to be sought in the contribution thereto of her constitution, laid down chiefly in the *Carta Caritatis*, and working itself out in the vast international system of her houses. This, it may be repeated, is, in large part, the content of the Cistercian idea[2]—the work probably of the chapters of 1116-19. By the Charter of Charity[3] the whole order is united in one great system, of which the blinding power is affection or love (*Caritas*), founded upon spiritual kinship which is the basis of all authority. The

[1] Dr. Frere, *loc. cit.*, quotes the Council of Westminster, cap. 21, also in this connexion. It is given in Wilkins' *Concilia*, I., 475. The decree forbade canons to serve in churches in person. But special licence was given for this as, for instance, by Urban IV. in 1262. Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 316, note.

[2] See my article in *Eng. Hist. Review.*, viii. (1903), pp. 625, *et seq.* and footnotes.

[3] For the document itself, cf. *Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne*, pp. 79-84. This is the earlier form of the instrument. Cf. Migne : *Pat. Lat.*, t. 166, pp. 1377-84.

working of this principle constitutes the principal feature of Cistercian external government and organisation, and it opposed or rather offered in succession to the monarchy of Clugny an aristocratic republic which led the way to the democratic abolutism—one might almost say, the military monarchy of the friars. For the internal government of her houses, on the lines laid down probably in the Regulations of 1101 and contained in the *Exordium*, the first known collection of *Instituta Generalis Capituli apud Cistercienses* was drawn up in 1134, though not perhaps completed until 1152.[1] The Charter provided for uniform observance and usage throughout the order, and the regular visitation, according to their filiations of all the monasteries including Citeaux which is subjected to that of the abbots of La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux and Morimond; the annual attendance of the abbots at the general chapter of Citeaux; the full power of the latter body to consult, legislate and correct; and the election and deposition of abbots, even to the abbot of Citeaux himself.

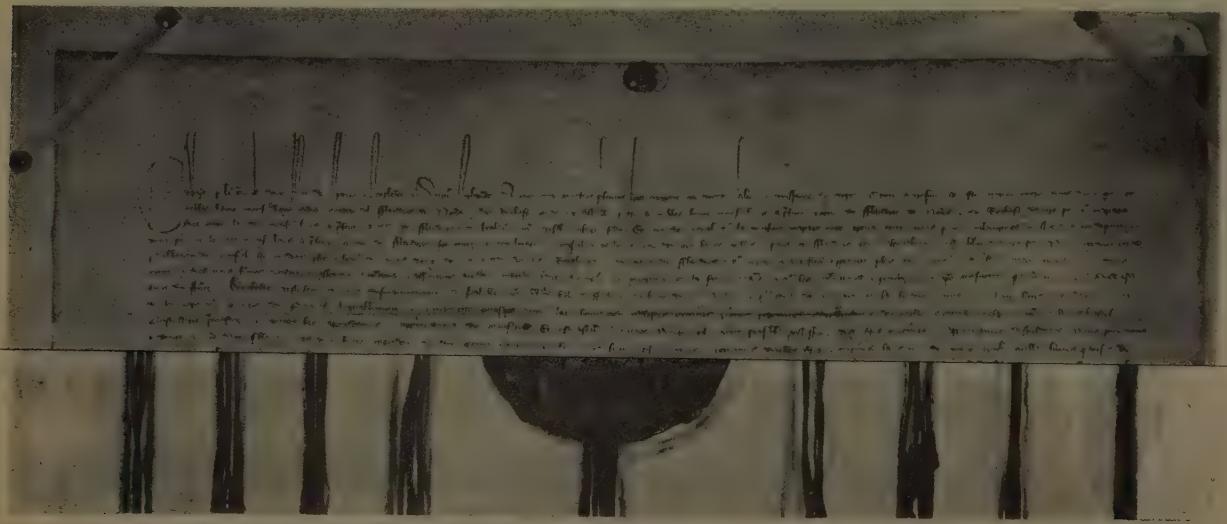
It is difficult to agree with M. Berlière, to whose work we are so greatly indebted, that the splendid gift of the Cistercian Chapter was a real infringement of the Rule of St. Benedict; it would seem rather an extension and development (like the congregational principle itself) but, in this case, of a principle already established in each separate house, of daily consultation and deliberation by abbot and brethren in the chapter of that house. Surely a general chapter such as that established by the *Carta Caritatis* might be legitimately regarded as a concentration for purposes of general government of these local moots, even though it was left to the friars (in their wide-reaching democratic almost tumultuous life, and its close association with the life of the world they served), to see how this concentration could be made real and workable. This they did by the sending up of the brother or brothers who should carry the vote or votes of those who could not go in person. How far in this regard monasticism and its off-shoots have perhaps helped to forge instruments, which were to be applied more effectively in fields far removed from their life and influence, may be said to be still under investigation,[2]

[1] *Monuments Primitifs*, pp. 245 *et seq.*

[2] Cf. Mr. Barker's little pamphlet *The Dominican Order and Convocation*, Oxford, 1913, and cf. Miss Rose Graham, *loc. cit.*

while its almost immediate adoption and use in other orders has been traced above.

The twelfth century, as has been said, saw pure monasticism at its height in Europe, and witnessed the last of the great religious revivals issuing from, and led by it. That of the friars, of course, was not purely monastic, still less so that of the Jesuit, and other religious orders of the Counter-Reformation. Of none of the earlier movements have we fuller or more authoritative accounts than that of Citeaux ; in none can we see more plainly the action of the timeless religious spirit in one of its hours of revival and renewal, and the curious similarity of its phenomena at work in the common medium of human life and human need. The century saw here, too, one of those illuminating conflicts of ideal of which the history of religious life is so full, or rather a conflict of interpretation as to common ways of life. The conflict does not here affect the main issues of conduct, but those side issues which have so often proved perplexing. Such conflicts have varied endlessly in form throughout the generations of men, and if the Cistercian movement presented to its age the Puritan interpretation of its moral ills, the Puritan solution of its moral difficulties, and that solution with its unquenchable energy was accepted at the time, there was room in the Church for both, and Peter the Venerable's reading of the law in its traditional and sober wisdom has been as often or oftener accepted by succeeding generations. The history of the religious orders has been, of course, largely that of the revival of life in the Catholic Church during the Middle Ages—of the presentation of some new aspect of truth, or of the enhanced emphasis upon some old or half-forgotten truth. If at the close of the 12th century the great work of pure monasticism was done, and the immediate future lay rather with Augustinianism, in one of its endlessly varying forms, this too was the child of pure monasticism from which it had borrowed not only much of its spirit and discipline, but not a few of its forms and instruments to hand on to succeeding generations of men, in the world as well as in the Church. How far this was the case is not as yet perhaps fully known, but it powerfully enhances the interest of a century which in the very heart of the Middle Ages brought to problems, which we have been accustomed to regard as modern, so much of modern thought and criticism.



Facsimile of a Letter to Louis de Male, Count de Flanders, March 13th, 1447, in The John Rylands Library

A LETTER TO LOUIS DE MALE, COUNT OF FLANDERS.[1]

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AMONG the Phillipps Charters now in the John Rylands Library, No. 23 (R 33889), transcribed by Dr. Fawtier in the BULLETIN for July, 1924 (Vol. 8, No. 2), is a splendid product of the fourteenth century English Chancery. It is the English part[2] of a settlement for the marriage of Isabella, eldest daughter of Edward III. of England, with Louis, Count of Flanders, and is dated March 13th, 1347. Its subsequent history, until its purchase by the Rylands Library in 1913, is unknown. It soon passed out of English possession. On the dorse, it is described, in a XIVth century hand, as a *Traiter du mariage de Loys Conte de Fflandre et de Ysabel fille d'Engleterre*, and no English scribe would have alluded to his king's daughter in those terms. There is a second *mention* on the dorse, in a later hand, almost illegible ; and since this also is in French, it is probable that the document remained either in Flanders or France, until it came into the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps.

The form of the document is that of a letter patent. It is written on parchment, 487 mm. by 540 mm., with a fold 43 mm. wide. It is in the normal chancery hand of the period, and in French. Seven seals are attached to the fold, by green silk cords ; and two cords are attached without any corresponding seals. The seals are, from the left :—of Robert de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk ; of Thomas de Beauchamp,

[1] In preparing this article I am much indebted to Dr. Fawtier who has not only made many suggestions and corrections, but has placed at my disposal the transcript of the document with a description of the seals. I must also again thank Professor Tout for his help and advice.

[2] The other part is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera* (London, 1816-30), III. 111, 112. Cf. p. 179, n. 1.

Earl of Warwick; of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton; of Edward the Black Prince; of Edward III. (the great seal); of Richard Talbot, Steward of the Household; and of John d'Arcy. The cords which are without seals are numbers seven and eight; and there are no signs that the seals were ever affixed. Along the fold of the letter are the names: *Southfolk*, *Warewik*, *Northampton*,[1] *Senescal*, *Darcy*, written above the corresponding seals; but over the cords which have no seals, there are no names.

In the letter, Edward III. declares that the settlement had been arrived at by his deputies and by Louis de Male, *ses gents de son linage*, *et conseil*, *et les bones gents de ses bones villes et pays de Fflandres*. The terms are, firstly that Edward grants to Isabella, and to the children of this marriage, the county of Ponthieu with the town and castle of Montreuil. Until Isabella and Louis have peaceful possession of these lands, he grants them 25,000 *livres parisis* a year. If Edward shall assign to Isabella lands with a rent equal to 25,000 *l.p.*, this side of the sea and near to Flanders,[2] then Ponthieu and Montreuil are to be returned to England, or the grant of 25,000 *l.p.* is to lapse.

Secondly Edward promises to grant to Louis and Isabella 300,000 *deniers d'or à l'escut*, to be paid at stated intervals during the following three years. After the last payment of this sum, he is to pay a further 100,000 *deniers d'or à l'escut*, within the ensuing five years, at the rate of 20,000 *deniers* each Easter.

Thirdly Edward promises that, if Louis, as a result of this marriage, is disturbed in the possession of Nevers or Rethel, or of any of his lands in Flanders, the king will not make any truce or agreement lasting more than a year, in his "present" war, until Louis has again obtained peaceful possession.

Besides his own solemn promise to fulfil these conditions, Edward adds that of his eldest son, Edward Prince of Wales. In addition he nominates three guarantors, the Earls of Northampton, Warwick and Suffolk, who, if Edward fails in his payments, are each to send two knights, with four attendants, as hostages, within a month after they are requested by the count. The knights are to remain in Flanders

[1] It is *Norhampton* in the body of the letter, but *Northampton* on the fold. Dr. Fawtier has, however, transcribed this also as *Norhampton*.

[2] Edward was, of course, writing in France.

until payment is made. Finally Edward nominates Richard Talbot, Bartholomew Burghersh, Reginald Cobham and John d'Arcy, Junior, each to send one knight under similar conditions. All those named as guarantors are requested to affix their seals to the document, along with the great seal of the king.[1]

The document represents the end of the first phase of Anglo-Flemish relations during Edward III.'s war with France. This had, in the main, consisted of an alliance between the burghers of Flanders and the King of England, on the one hand, and a strong friendship between the Count of Flanders and the King of France on the other.[2] The alliance had been finally cemented in the early months of 1340, and its Flemish champion was James van Artevelde. The friendship of the Count of Flanders for the French had led Louis de Nevers to sacrifice all accept his allegiance to France, and finally to die fighting for Philip of Valois at Crecy in 1346.

Meanwhile Artevelde had also died, in 1345. The way was cleared for a new settlement of the complex relationship between England and Flanders; and in 1347 it appeared as if Edward would profit greatly both by the death of his friend and his enemy. English friendship with Flanders was no longer bound up with the dominant personality of Artevelde; and Edward still had the enthusiastic support of the strongest faction in Ghent, Bruges and Ypres. Louis de Nevers' son and successor, Louis de Male, was young: all parties in Flanders were eager for the return of their Count; and were apparently prepared for a reconciliation, which would find expression in united support of the English cause. With both Louis de Nevers

[1] *Fœdera*, III. 111, 112.

Louis de Male, in his part of the agreement, promises to marry Isabella within a fortnight after the next Easter. He will grant immediately to Isabella, 10,000 *livres parisis* as dowry, such money as the Counts of Flanders receive from their lands in that county. Isabella is to receive the same, after the death of Louis, from the revenues of Nevers and Rethel. She is also to receive a castle or house in those lands. If she cannot obtain peaceful possession of the lands in the two counties, and of the castle, Louis assigns her the same sum, with a sufficient house, in the county of Flanders. In addition he agrees that the grants made by Edward III., Ponthieu, Montreuil, etc., shall be the heritage of Isabella after his death. Finally Louis agrees to support Edward and Isabella, and to oppose their enemies.

[2] Deprey, *Preliminaires de la Guerre de Cent Ans.*, p. 296. H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, II., 126-128, 132.

and Artevelde removed from the scene, it appeared at length, as if Edward would obtain not only the alliance of the Flemish burghers, but also the friendship of their Count.

Unfortunately for Edward, the opposition of the new Count, Louis de Male, to an English alliance, was increased by a French education, French sympathies, and the recent memory of his father's death.[1] It was overcome for the moment, in 1347, by the pressure of his subjects, and he was constrained to promise marriage with Isabella of England. But, almost immediately afterwards, he fled to France, and there repudiated the whole project. The treaty with England which he subsequently sealed, in December, 1348,[2] was very different from that arranged in 1347. Although peace was declared between the two countries, and the cities of Flanders were guaranteed their old freedom, the treaty of 1348 meant that Edward III. renounced all possibility of active help from Flanders, and left his staunchest allies there at the mercy of their Count. He thus abandoned the policy he had so consistently followed since 1337, and which had so nearly succeeded in the marriage settlement at Bergues. Edward's failure in 1347 at Bergues materially affected the course of the war with France, in the next few years: that, and a subsequent failure in 1369, had a profound effect on the whole history of the Hundred Years' War.

The project of 1347 illustrates clearly the value which Edward III. placed on his alliance with Flanders. Before the battle of Crecy, a coalition was an essential condition of English success against France. Even with numerous allies, in the early years of the French war, it is unlikely that Edward III. contemplated the permanent subjection of any considerable part of France. His claim to the French crown was a diplomatic move, whose hollowness nobody realised more clearly than he himself. The twin exploits of Crecy and Calais undoubtedly affected this situation materially; but they left it fundamentally the same. With Calais in his grasp, Edward was still prepared to make a high bid for Flemish aid.[3] If he could not pay for it cheaply in French land, he was prepared, once again, to pay for it in gold. In his diligent search for allies, and especially in his persistent attempts to secure a Flemish alliance, he was pursuing a traditional policy, and one that outlasted the Hundred Years' War.

[1] Cf. Froissart, *Chroniques* (Société de l'Histoire de France), IV., 35.
[2] *Fœdera*, III., 178. [3] Pirenne, p. 177.

The letter itself is exceptional in having six seals attached, besides the great seal of the king. Although it is a letter patent it does not contain the clause which most of all distinguished letters patent in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.—*In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes.*[1] Instead of the usual final clause, which in Latin would read *Teste meipso apud Berges*[2] *XIII die Martii*, it contains the clause *Donne a Berghes le XIII iour de Mars*. And the language in which it is written is French.

In this respect, the letter resembles a writ of privy seal. And since in 1347, the great seal was actually in the charge of the keeper of the privy seal,[3] the methods of the privy seal office might possibly have influenced the clerks who were writing for the great seal. But a number of chancery letters were written in French, both before and after 1347;[4] and they had appeared as early as Henry III.'s reign. They were especially numerous between 1337 and 1347, in the negotiations with the French speaking nobility of the Netherlands. It was perhaps for the convenience of these latter, rather than on account of any foreign influence in the chancery, that French was used instead of the usual Latin.[5] Since the letter was in French, the only normal final clause was the one actually used. There was no French equivalent to the *Teste me ipso* of the ordinary letter patent. But it is worth noting that in many similar letters to foreign rulers, in Latin, the *Datum* clause of charters was deliberately used, instead of the normal *Teste me ipso*.[6] It is quite possible that special customs regulated the form

[1] This was probably due to the fact that there were eight co-jurors besides the king. The phrase corresponding to *In cuius rei, etc.*, in the letter is, *En conissance et tesmoignance de toutes les choses dessus dites . . . avons nous, Edward, Rois de Ffrance et d'Engleterre dessus nomes fait sealler cestes lettres de nostre grant seal.*

[2] The Latin rendering in *Fœdera*, III., 112, is *Berges*.

[3] *Ibid.*, 85, 139.

[4] *Ibid.*, II., 1100, 1101, 1102, 1105, 1108, 1111, 1121, 1122, 1132, 1134, 1137; *ibid.*, III., 45, 68, 80, 84, 92, 112, 136, 142, 153, etc. H. Hall, *Studies in English Historical Documents*, p. 253.

[5] Of course the English baronage in the fourteenth century was French-speaking; but compare similar letters in French, to Anglo-Scottish nobles; *Fœdera*, II., 740, 1132; and important letters to sheriffs in England; *ibid.*, 787, 799, 800, 814, 1134, 1137.

[6] There are two letters in *Fœdera* issued as early as 1220 and 1236, with the final clause *Actum apud Londonium*, and *Actum apud Wintoniam*. *Ibid.*, I., 158-9, 221-2. Both proclaimed a truce with France. A writ

of all letters addressed to foreign courts; at any rate it is certain that what appear to be exceptional features in the letter to Louis de Male, were common to many of the same class. It is not to external or temporary influences[1] that we must look, in explaining those features, but to the established customs of the English chancery.

In the address of the letter, in the dating clause, and on the seal, Edward is described as King of France and England. He had, of course, publicly proclaimed himself King of France as well as of England, on January 26th, 1340.[2] In numerous letters published in Rymer's *Fœdera* after that date,[3] he was described as *Rex Francie et Anglie;* but in a few[4] he was *Rex Anglie et Francie.* These two titles seem to have been kept carefully distinct, and used systematically, the one in letters that were being sent abroad, the other in letters used in England.[5] In this document Edward is described as King of

with clause *Datum apud, etc.*, is printed on p. 316, dated 1255, and addressed, *omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis Vasconiae.* After 1255 the clause appears frequently in *Fœdera*, chiefly in letters relating to foreign countries. *Fœdera*, I., 332, 354, 370, 380, 384, 398, 409, 410, 412, 414, 417, 419, 426, 435, 440, 446, 470, 471, 472, etc.; and *ibid.*, II., *passim.*

It is interesting to notice in these letters occasional solemn phrases, seldom employed in ordinary letters patent and close, such as, *In cuius rei testimonium praesentem paginam fecimus nostri sigilli munimine roborari.*, and (in 1327 and 1328). *Et hoc omnibus* (*quorum interest vel interesse poterit*) *significamus per has literas nostras patentes sigilli nostri munimine roboratas. Ibid.* I., 332; II., 693, 730.

[1] The final clause of this letter was used very frequently in both the Papal and French chanceries; Poole, *Papal Chancery in the Twelfth Century;* Octave Morel, *La Grande Chancellerie Royale* (Paris, 1900).

[2] *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker.* (Edited E. M. Thompson), p. 66, and note, p. 241.

[3] *Fœdera*, II., 1127, 1170, 1187; III., 14, 19, 21, 32, 38, 58, 119, 168, 171, etc.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1220, 1243 (this was to the King of Portugal); III., 105.

[5] This was the general rule in a number of original letters and copies which I have examined. For the original letters see p. 184, n. 2. With regard to the copies, I examined a number in H. E. Salter's *Archives of the University of Oxford*, pp. 139-189, and his *Munimenta Civitatis Oxonie*, pp. 105, 122, 125, 138, 145, and in W. de G. Birch's *Charters of the City of Lincoln.* In the first collection, for instance, all the fifteen letters dated between February, 1340, and the Treaty of Bretigny, began with the clause *Rex Anglie et Francie;* and all were concerned with English affairs. After Bretigny, of course, Edward described himself simply as King of England, etc. The chancery rolls which might have offered conclusive evidence on the subject,

France and England, not only in the address and dating clause, but throughout the whole letter.

In the case of the seal, however, the situation is different. The natural inference to be drawn from the two titles of Edward III., is that he had two corresponding seals. Professor Willis thought this, as early as 1845.[1] He suggested that Edward brought from Flanders in 1340,[2] a seal with the inscription *Rex Francie et Anglie*, which he used in England after 1340, and took with him abroad on subsequent campaigns. Another seal, used in England whilst Edward was abroad, bore the inscription *Rex Anglie et Francie*. Both these seals, Willis suggested, were stored away when peace was made with France, but were given to Wykeham the Chancellor, on the renewal of the war in 1369. It is certain that Wykeham received two seals in 1369,[3] one with each inscription; and Geoffrey le Baker, writing probably between 1347 and 1357, has repeated a story [4] that as early as 1340, Edward III. had described himself, on his seal as well as his letters, King of England and France,—*in suis sigillo et literis prius nominavit se regem Anglie quam Francie.*

Unfortunately, however, every impression we have of Edward III.'s

unfortunately, do not reproduce Edward's full title, as given in the original letters. The date is given in full only in the first entry in each roll, e.g. Charter Roll No. 128—15 Edward III., the first entry on which is *Carte de Anno regni Regis Edwardi Anglie quintodecimo et Ffrancie secundo.* The letters in *Fœdera* in which the phrase *Rex Francie et Anglie* is very generally used, were, of course, *Litteræ . . . inter Reges Angliae et Alios Quosuis Imperatores, Reges, etc.* All the letters in *Fœdera*, cited in note 3 p. 182 were to rulers or people outside England.

[1] *Archælogical Journal*, II., 14-36. He argued from the entries in the patent and close rolls of chancery. It is only fair to add, that he himself stressed the fact, that he had not seen an impression of the seal of absence.

[2] Cf. *Fœdera*, II., 1141.

[3] *Ibid.*, III., 868. Cf. *ibid.*, 911, 912.

[4] *Chronicon G. le Baker* (Edited E. M. Thompson), p. 66. De titulo et armis prenominatis taliter alloquebatur quondam Anglicos sibi missos tirannus Francorum: "Quod," inquit, "cognatus noster arma gerit quadrata de armis Francie et Anglie compaginatis non nobis displicet, pro eo quod pauperiori nostri parentele bachulario partem armorum nostrorum regalium libentur concederemus deferendam; set quod in suis sigillo et literisprius nominavit se regem Anglie quam Francie et primum quarterium suorum armorum cum leopardis anteponit quarterio liliato nos angustiat, videntes quod parvam insulam Anglie magno regno Francie preiudicet honorandum."

seal, in these years, bears the inscription *Rex Francie et Anglie.*[1] Moreover, it is clear from a number of examples,[2] that letters were issued with the formula *Rex Anglie et Francie*, bearing the seal inscribed *Rex Francie et Anglie.* This did not only happen when Edward was abroad, and when he might have had only one of the seals with him. Thus in spite of the evidence for two seals, it is almost certain that two seals did not exist until 1369; and it is possible that they were not used until considerably after that date.

The only mentions, *extra sigillum*, on the document, are the names above the seals. Dr. Fawtier has described these as being written after the seals had been attached. It is perhaps more natural, however, to regard them as guides, written immediately before the sealing, and indicating the order in which the seals were to be affixed. There could have been little point in emphasising the ownership of the seals, when they themselves proclaimed it so clearly.

There is nothing exceptional with regard to the seals that are attached to the document. The splendid great seal of the king is in Wyon's *Great Seals of England* (Plate X.). Those of Suffolk and Warwick, are in Birch's *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum.* The following do not appear in that catalogue :—

[1] Wyon, A., *Great Seals of England*, pp. 33, 34, 152. W. de G. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum.* P.R.O., Index of Seals.

[2] Through the kindness of Mr. A. H. Thomas, clerk of the records of the Guild Hall, London, and of Mr. Hilary Jenkinson of the Public Record Office, I have been able to examine a number of seals and the letters to which they were attached. In the case of four documents in the Guild Hall, for example, where the seal and document were in good condition, dated, August 20th, 1340, May 26th, 1341, June 10th, 1354, and December 4th, 1376, the address ran, *Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Anglie et Francie, etc.*, whilst the inscription on the seal ran, *Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Francie et Anglie.* All four were addressed to the City of London. The four most perfect seals in the Record Office collection, all bearing the inscription *Edwardus Rex Francie et Anglie, etc.*, were similarly attached to letters in which the two countries were mentioned in the reverse order. They were dated March 13th, 1345, November 28th, 1358, January 20th, 1342, and February 1st, 1347. Ancient Deeds A.S. 512, *ibid.* B.S. 471. Duchy of Lancaster, Royal Charters No. 297, *ibid.* 305.

The seal on the letter dated August 20th, 1340, in the Guild Hall collection, is presumably the seal of absence; but it has the inscription *Rex Francie et Anglie, etc.* The one on the letter dated February 1st, 1347, is the same as that on the document printed below.

3. William de Bohun Earl of Northampton. The seal is red : 8.5. mm. A monkey (?) within a carved Gothic panel. . . . E.L.M. . . . It is very imperfect, with the right side broken.

4. Edward Prince of Wales. The seal is red : 38 mm. A shield of arms, quarterly, France (seme) and England, with a label of three points : at the sides two branches (or plumes ?) ; with a finely carved Gothic panel of eight cusps.

S. EDWARDI. PRIMO[GENITI. REGIS. ANGLIE] ET. [FRANCIE. PRINCIPIS. WALLIE DU]CIS. CORNUBIE. ET. COMITIS. CESTRIE.

The seals of the Black Prince are discussed in Mrs. Margaret Sharp's *A Jodrell Deed and the Seals of the Black Prince:* JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY BULLETIN, VII. 1 ; and in J. Moisant : *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine* (Paris 1894), Appendix VII.

6. Richard Talbot, Steward of the Household. The seal is red : 38 mm. : a shield of arms couché ; a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed ; crest on helmet and chapeau ; a talbot sejant. The background is replenished with lions (?) rampant.

SIGILLUM. RICARDI. TALEBOTT.

(9) John d'Arcy Junior.

The seal is red : 30 mm. : a shield of arms, three roses between seven crosses crosslet, in a carved Gothic panel.

SIGILLUM. JOHANNIS DARCI.

The seal of his successor in the barony is described in Birch, II., 424.

All the seals are attached on green silk cords of varying thickness. The royal seal is in the green wax which was commonly used for charters and important letters patent. The other six seals are in red wax, the wax generally employed for small seals. Five of them are privy seals ; the sixth is probably a signet. The greatest problem with regard to the seals is the complete absence of two of them, for which cords had been provided,—those of Bartholomew Burghersh and Reginald Cobham.

There is no direct evidence as to why the two knights did not affix their seals along with the rest ; but there are one or two points, in the letters exchanged at Bergues, that throw some light on the matter. Firstly, the names above the cords, in Edward III.'s letter, were evidently written some time after the letter itself,—or all the

names would have been there, and by that time it was evident that Burghersh and Cobham would not be affixing their seals. Secondly, it appears likely that Edward III.'s letter was both drawn up and despatched on the 3rd of March. It is dated March 3rd, and so also is the letter of Louis de Male,[1] which was handed to Edward on March 4th, and contained Louis' part of the agreement. But Louis, on March 3rd definitely referred to Edward's letter which was in his possession—"certains dons et promesses, contenus clerement es lettres que nous avons par devers nous, dut dit monsieur le Roy, sur le dit mariage." And again "la dite conte de Pontieu de Monstruel—ou les vint chinc mille livrees de terre, qui en lieu de ce nous seroient assises pres de Flandres, si comme es lettres don dit monsieur le Roy a nous baillies sur ce est plus planemen contenu." This seems to be more than common form. Thirdly, both Burghersh and Cobham were present, when Louis de Male's share of the agreement was handed to Edward III.[2] at Bergues, on March 4th. Finally, it must be remembered that both the knights were in the second—and less important, group of guarantors. This series of facts seems to point to one likely explanation. It is simply that the knights were expected at Bergues when the letter was drawn up; but they had not arrived, or were not available, when the rest of the guarantors affixed their seals. The matter was too urgent to wait; their seals were not indispensable; and the document was despatched without awaiting their arrival. It was well guaranteed for all practical purposes by the seals of the king, the prince and the first three securities, without holding it up further. There is little doubt that the whole matter was rushed through quickly at Bergues; and it was very natural that Edward at least would not delay to secure finally, the agreement for which he had worked so long.

It is not the least interesting aspect of the letter printed by Dr. Fawtier, that it was probably drawn up quickly and under unusual circumstances, that it was issued from the very small section of the

[1] *Fœdera*, III., 111, 112.

[2] On the dorse of Louis de Male's letter was written,—"Istam litteram tradidit dominus Egidius, cancellarius nobilis viri, domini Lodovici comitis Flandriae, sigillo dicti comitis sigillatam, in praesentia domini Regis Angliae et Franciae in praesentibus nobilibus viris . . . Willielmo Comite de Northamptonia, et Domino Reginaldo de Cowain, et Bartholomaeo de Burghwagh, et Johanne Darcy . . . Mensis Martii die quarta decima in aula de Berges, in quadam camera alba, Morinensis dioceseos."

chancery that accompanied Edward in his seige of Calais, and that it was yet so typical a product of the fourteenth century English chancery. It is in this that its value lies to the student of diplomatics. In the general history of the period it represents a traditional policy towards Flanders, and an attitude towards France, both of which subsequent events did much to modify. But they dominated the early years of the French war, and besides, influenced the general policy of Edward III. to an extent which critics of his statesmanship do not always sufficiently take into account.

AN ANCIENT SYRIAC TRANSLATION OF THE ḲUR'ĀN EXHIBITING NEW VERSES AND VARIANTS.

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Foreword.

I.

AMONG the Syriac manuscripts brought recently from the East by the writer is one (numbered Mingana 89 and written about A.D. 1450) which contains controversial works against Jews, Nestorians, and Mohammedans by the West Syrian writer Barṣalībi, who died in A.D. 1171. The treatise against the Mohammedans is divided into three discourses (*maimrē*), subdivided into thirty chapters, two-thirds of which would offer no compensation for the trouble taken by a diligent reader intent on perusing them thoroughly. The last discourse, comprising chapters 25-30, is entirely composed of quotations from the Ḳur'ān, translated into Syriac. These the author adduces for purposes either of refutation or of illustration, and he divides his page in this part into two columns, the first of which contains the Ḳur'ānic quotations, and the second his own refutations or illustrations.

As the verses in the tract are often quoted without any introductory or editorial words, it is sometimes difficult to make out when a quotation ends and another begins. The aim of Barṣalibi in making use of these quotations is threefold: to confirm a given Christian doctrine, to draw attention to some apparent contradictions of the Ḳur'ān, and to put before his readers the story of some Biblical incidents as narrated in it.

Under the first head are all the Ḳur'ānic verses dealing with Jesus, His mother and His disciples, and with the Holy Spirit. The author often addresses in the second column the Christians or Mohammedans in some such phrases: "Examine what your (or: their, as the case may be) Prophet says about the Christ."

Under the second head fall all the passages in which the author puts side by side the apparently contradictory statements made by the Prophet. Here also the author addresses in the second column the Christians or the Mohammedans with some such words as: "Look how your (or, their) Prophet was inconsistent."

Under the third head occur all the passages dealing with the Patriarchs Abraham, Noah, and others whose history is often narrated in a different way from that found in the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testaments. Here also the author interpellates the Christians or the Mohammedans with words similar to those used under the first two heads. If we add to these the didactic passages quoted for the benefit of Christian readers, in the matter of the creation of man and the Universe, and of the life hereafter, we shall have a comprehensive synopsis of all the Ḳur'ānic citations, and a full abstract of the scope of Barṣalībi's work.

The Ḳur'ān in a Syriac garb greatly excited my curiosity and I began to peruse the above citations with some interest. I was not long in detecting the fact that they often represented a version which not only was not always in harmony with the *textus receptus* of the Ḳur'ān, but exhibited whole verses not found in it at all.

In 1914 when I edited some scraps of a palimpsest, the underwriting of which revealed scattered verses of the Ḳur'ān, I held to the traditional view, so ably maintained by Nöldeke in his classical *Geschichte des Qorāns*, that the sacred Book of Islam was collected and standardised on the initiative of the third Caliph by Zaid b. Thābit and other amanuenses.[1] In 1916, greatly under the influence of Prof. Casanova's investigations I contributed a monograph to the *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*,[2] in which I suggested that the traditional view on the compilation of the Ḳur'ān was not always satisfactory, and set forth the hypothesis that the Ḳur'ān, as we have it to-day, was finally standardised at a much

[1] *Leaves from three Ancient Ḳur'āns.* [2] Pp. 26-47.

later date, under the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. In the article *Qurān* in the late Dr. Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (1918, pp. 547 sqq.), I endeavoured to add more weight to this theory.

Before proceeding any further with the Ḳur'ān itself, it will be useful to discuss the all-important question of the origin, provenance, and antiquity of its Syriac translation. Unhappily Barṣalībi throws no light on the subject. He begins his section as follows: "The third Discourse of the Treatise against the Muslims. Chapter 25, in which there are special parts of the Ḳur'ān in the upper column and a short refutation of them in the lower column, because a detailed refutation has been given in the previous chapters." The colophon of the whole work is by the author himself and runs thus: "Our Treatise against the Muslims has extended thus far. We have refuted their objection concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation of the Son, and by proofs taken from Nature and from philosophical books we have demonstrated our truth. Then we have confuted them in many points from their own book. After that we have arranged in one systematic division parts of the Ḳur'ān, which has been translated from their language into Syriac, and we have succinctly refuted it in the column that is below, because in the previous chapters we have given a detailed refutation. The time has now come to put an end to our labour. Let any one who reads and understands, profits and makes others profit, pray for Mar Dionysius the stranger, who is Jacob Barṣalībi from Milīṭīni, Metropolitan of Amed." Chapter 26 is entitled: "From the Ḳur'ān;" chapters 27-29 have no titles, and Chapter 30 is headed: "Further extracts from the Ḳur'ān."

It will be seen from the accompanying Syriac text of the colophon that the verb which we have rendered by "has been translated" with reference to the whole of the Ḳur'ān, may equally well be rendered by "have been translated" with reference to "parts" only of the Ḳur'ān.[1] We are not, therefore, in a position to infer with certitude from the above headings and colophon whether Barṣalībi had before him all the Ḳur'ān translated into Syriac, or only parts of it; but

[1] It would be in place here to remark that the Harvard MS. (see below) has an erroneous *wāw* after the verb (fol. 59b). This grammatical blunder does not deserve much attention as it cannot possibly be ascribed to Barṣalībi.

from the comprehensive list of all the translated passages given below we are inclined to adhere to the first alternative. The contrary hypothesis would drive us into endless surmises involving the existence of *Testimony Books* consisting of extracts and selections from the Ḳur'ān for the benefit of Christian controversialists. Of the existence of such books there is no trace of any kind in the history of the Syrian Churches. What seems to lend colour to our view is the fact that in the sentence following the one just reported (see the above colophon) the author clearly states that he has "succinctly refuted *it*," i.e. the whole Ḳur'ān and not only "parts" of it spoken of in the previous sentence.

If, as seems probable, there was great necessity for early Christians to possess a thorough knowledge of the religion of their new masters and neighbours, is it not more natural to suppose that they had a complete version of the Sacred Book of Islam, rather than merely short portions of it which at best would prove a great hindrance in their religious discussions? We incline, therefore, to the belief that it is not intrinsically impossible to maintain the existence of a complete version of the Ḳur'ān in the hands of Christian doctors of the first centuries of the Hijrah. This hypothesis is rendered somewhat plausible by the fact that during the reign of some fanatical Caliphs unclean Christians could hardly even touch a Ḳur'ān in the presence of Muslims for purposes of reference; and if all signs do not mislead us they would not be even allowed to possess officially Arabic Ḳur'āns in their private houses. In how many ancient copies of the Ḳur'ān do we not find in large characters, on the first page, the verses 76-80 of Sūrah LVI. which forbid even Muslims to touch it without having previously made their ablutions. (See Nīsābūri, *Gharāib*, xxvii., 113; edit. Cairo.)

The above remarks lead us naturally to the main point of our inquiry: when, where, and by whom was the Ḳur'ān translated into Syriac? We must dwell at the outset on the fact that we do not deem it probable to suppose that Barṣalibi had any share in this translation. Any one who has read his Syriac works and noticed how careful he is to mention his name in sonorous phrases at the beginning or at the end of all of them, would hesitate to believe that if he had anything to do with the translation of the Ḳur'ānic pericopes under consideration, he would not have used the phrase "has been translated," but he would have written something like "which we Dionysius the stranger . . . have by the Grace of God translated from Arabic into Syriac."

Furthermore, in the second column where he refutes or illustrates the Ḳur'ānic verses, he sometimes upholds the traditional Muslim interpretation against the meaning of the Syriac text that he had transcribed in the first column. If he was both the author and the translator he could not have commented, in the way he did, on verses which did not square with the meaning he adopts in the Commentary. So, for instance, his refutation of verse 17 of Surah lxix. is in accordance with the Muslim traditional reading which implies that the throne of God was borne by eight angels,[1] while the Syriac lying before him, and which he quotes, clearly refers the "eight" to days and says that "they shall bear the throne of thy Lord on the eighth day." In the same way the text used by the author in his refutations found in the second column of verses v., 50, and lxi., 14, seems to be different from that found in the first column.

There is in this connection a linguistic phenomenon to which we wish to draw attention. When in lii., 20 the translator wishes to illustrate the Arabic *Sururin* which he had rightly rendered by *Piryāwātha*, he adds to it the explanatory Persian word *awkaith takhthā* "that is to say *couches*." If the translator was Barṣalibi—born and brought up in Malatya—he would not have used at Āmed a Persian word to explain a Syriac one. Does not this simple fact point to a time when Arabic had not yet supplanted Persian as a second language of the Christians of the Near East?

There is another linguistic feature worth mentioning. In the thirtieth chapter the author is evidently endeavouring to put side by side some apparently contradictory passages of the Ḳur'ān. This contradiction in terms, which he wishes to emphasise, is not always found in Arabic, but only in Syriac. If the author was working on an Arabic Ḳur'ān he would not have illustrated his point by wrong examples which did not prove his thesis. For instance, the Syriac verb ܫܟܚ means *to forget* (something), and the author finding it in his Syriac Version used of the forgetfulness of God rightly quotes it in this sense in connection with Ḳur'ān xxxii., 14, or xlv., 33, where the Arabic has نسى; but because he found this same Syriac verb in the Syriac version lying before him, he uses it in the form of

[1] Tabari, *Tafsīr*, xix., 37 (edit. Cairo). Zamakhshari, *Kashshāf*, ii., 1222 (edit. Calcutta). Baiḍāwi, *Anwār*, ii., 544 (edit. Bulak, 1296 A.H.).

ܠ ܚܦܝ which means "something escaping one's notice; hidden from one" answering to the Arabic خفي على in connection with iii., 4 etc., where it does not fit in with his assertion. This simultaneous use of the same Syriac word in two different connections could not have arisen from an Arabic Ḳur'ān. The argument will hold good even if verses such as xli., 53, and xxvii., 9, were alluded to by Barṣalībi. In xx., 54, the verb *yansa* is used of God as follows: "My Lord misleads not, nor forgets"; but the Ḳur'ān has "*my* Lord" while the Syriac has "*thy* Lord" with the addition of the word *nothing*, which is missing in the former; moreover it is the existence of the *iamadh* before the verb that is the deciding factor. The only difficulty is that in all our other references from the Ḳur'ān the word "God" is used instead of "thy Lord." In such verses as vi., 132 and xi., 123, *ghāfil* is in evidence.

We will here allude to a palæographically archaic feature which seems to ascribe to the tenth Christian century at the latest the *terminus ad quem* of the Arabic MS. of the Ḳur'ān from which our Syriac translation is derived, while the *terminus a quo* is lost in the mist of Ḳur'ānic antiquity: the first long quotation that the author gives from the Ḳur'ān embraces in a single whole, without any break in the text, all the first Sūrah and verses 1-10 of Sūrah ii. Now the second Sūrah is not introduced like the first by the ordinary formula: "In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful," and although exhibiting the mysterious letters A.L.M. it is not preceded by its usual title and definition. We do not believe that any Arabic MS. of the Ḳur'ān lacked all these features after the tenth century, and if Barṣalibi—who in his Syriac writings may always be taken as a faithful repertory of ancient records—was not playing havoc with all literary decency, it was hardly possible for him to have been the translator of the Ḳur'ānic pericopes under consideration; cf. Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, i., 35, etc. This refers only to the title and the description of the Sūrah; for the absence of the introductory formula see below p. 198.

Finally, the fact that the Syriac Version which the author quotes offers new verses not found in our Ḳur'āns, and various readings not mentioned by any Muslim commentator or reader, impedes us from ascribing it with any degree of probability to the time in which he lived, i.e. the twelfth Christian century. It is well known that the sacred

Book of Islam was finally fixed and standardised about three hundred years before this date. See also pages 214-215.

In this respect we know how careful were the Muslim theologians and *Ḳurrā'* in their reading and transcribing of the Ḳur'ān at the period of the 'Abbasid dynasty, that is to say from the time when we have positive proofs of the existence of a standard text. Controversies among *Ḳurrā'* have since then been confined to one or two vowels, one or two consonants, but hardly ever to complete phrases, despite the verses which some Shī'ah writers have invented to bolster up the political aim of the 'Alids.

That all the early *Ḳurrā'*, however, were not always a model of accuracy in the performance of their work is borne out by the answer that Iyās b. Mu'āwiah gave to the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al- 'Azīz (A.D. 717-720): "The *Ḳurrā'* are of two kinds: some of them do their work for the sake of the world to come, and these will not serve you; and some others do their work for the sake of this world, and on these you could not count."[1]

Islamic history has put on record cases of some doctors and *Ḳurrā'* who had different Ḳur'āns or knew verses of the Ḳur'ān not found in the official copies of the state. We will here mention Shanbūdh whose case became famous in Baghdād because he read and taught the Ḳur'ān "with disgraceful readings and anomalies which were an addition to the *muṣḥaf*[2] of 'Uthmān," and who in A.H. 323 was seized by the Sultan's emissaries and subjected to flogging.[3] Another instance is that of Ibn Ḳudaid (died A.H. 312) who had in his possession the Ḳur'ān of 'Uḳbah b. 'Āmir which was different in composition (*'ala ghair ta'līf*) from that of 'Uthmān.[4] Others who

[1] From *Baṣā'-ir al- Ḳudamā'* of Tawḥidi who died in A.D. 1009, fol. 191[a] of Arab. MS. 827 of the John Rylands Library. This work is rare, and I know only of one other copy preserved in Cambridge, No. 134 (p. 21 in Prof. Browne's *Hand-List* of 1900), cf. Brock, ii., 695. Our MS. is more fully described below, p. 202. On fol. 218[a] Tawḥīdi informs us that many anomalies in the reading of the Ḳur'ān were in very early times attributed to the considerable number of the non-Arab population whose conversion to Islam goes back to the time of 'Ali b. a Ṭālib. On fol. 264[a] a variant of transposition of words is recorded in Ḳur'ān L. 18, on the authority of the Caliph Abu Bakr himself.

[2] Exemplar or complete copy of the Ḳur'ān.

[3] Yākūt, *Irshād*, vi., 301-302 (edit. Margoliouth).

[4] R. Guest, in *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, by Kindi, p. 18.

ventured to register various readings had their books which contained them burned by order of the authorities.[1]

With Yāḳūt's account of the above unfortunate Doctor should be coupled the important statement of the author of the *Fihrist* who informs us (pp. 31-32) that Ibn Shanbūdh died in the court prison in 328, and gives us some astounding variants, additions, and verbal differences found in the Ḳur'ān that he was using.

Our present knowledge of various readings in the Ḳur'ān is mostly derived from the Commentators (chiefly Zamakhshari), from late books of *Ḳirā'āt* such as the *Muḳni'* of Dāni, and from stray quotations found in some early authors such as the *Mathālib*[2] of Ibn al- Kalbi and others, but these, as shown by the Ḳur'āns of Uḳbah b. 'Āmir and Ibn Shanbūdh, are not sufficient to enable us to form a clear opinion of the state of the sacred text in the time of its most critical period, which corresponds roughly with A.D. 660-710, and until some of those early works on the Ḳur'ān the existence—even if not the actual wording—of which was known to the author of the *Fihrist* (pp. 28-39) are recovered, or something tangible turns up from an unexpected quarter, we will only be able to formulate more or less consistent hypotheses, which however good can hardly stand as established facts.

The above cases belong to the fourth Islamic century. Before this time we know also of the early existence of the (now lost or purposely destroyed) Ḳur'āns of Ubayy b. Ka'b, 'Ali b. a. Ṭālib, Ibn Mas'ūd,[3] and of a few others, but is it likely that the Syriac translator would have chosen for the benefit of his co-religionists an unofficial and somewhat heretical text of which no Christian could make effective use in controversial discussions? What was there to tempt him in such an enterprise? Everything well considered we hold it, therefore, to be improbable that if a Syriac translation of the Ḳur'ān was in the hands of some Christian communities of the first centuries of the Hijrah, it

[1] Miskawaihi's *Experiences of Nations*, i., 285 (of the text).

[2] The information that the *Mathālib* contain Ḳur'ānic variants I owe to Mr. F. Krenkow, whose acquaintance with the scattered remnants of early Arabian poetry and prose is possibly unique.

[3] About Ibn Mas'ūd's Ḳur'ān we will recall the words of Diyārbakri (*Tārikh al-Khamīs*, edit. Cairo, 1302, i., 305): "If the Ḳur'ān of Ibn Mas'ūd had remained in the hands of the people, it would have caused a schism in the faith, on account of the disgraceful anomalies that it contained."

was not made from a text that was in every respect official and acknowledged by the bulk of the Muslim testimony of the time.

Researches in the domain of Syriac literature do not throw any important light on the point at issue. Most of the Syriac writers from the middle of the seventh century downwards appear on the whole to be well acquainted with the religion of their new masters, although in the historical sphere a few of them fall into grave errors in their biographical essays on the genealogy of the first Arab Caliphs and generals. From early times there have been, both in Syria and Mesopotamia, discussions between Christians and Muslims, a commendable enumeration of which can be found in Steinschneider's *Polem. u. apol. lit.* (1877), with Goldziher's continuation of it in *Z.D.M.G.* (33), and in our Ṭabari's *Book of Religion and Empire* (1922),[1] but to our knowledge in none of them is there mention of a Syriac translation of the Ḳur'ān. The first mention of the refutation of a complete Ḳur'ān recorded in Syriac literature is that undertaken by the East-Syrian writer Abū Nūḥ of Anbār, the secretary of the Muslim governor of Mosul, towards the end of the eighth Christian century, or about A.D. 790,[2] but since the work itself is lost we have no means for ascertaining the nature and the character of the sacred text that he used.

The above statement is subject, however, to an important qualification :

(*a*) From very early times Syriac writers, even those among them who knew no Arabic at all, referred to some statements made in the Ḳur'ān which it was very difficult for them to have discovered, unless they were either working direct upon a Syriac Ḳur'ān or upon first hand Christian anthorities versed in its knowledge. So, for instance, John of Phenek who was writing about A.D. 690 makes a clear mention of the fact that the Muslims had, from their leader Muḥammad, a special order in favour of the Christians and the monks.[3] This undoubtedly refers to Ḳur'ān v., 85. Now we cannot reasonably suppose that a monk living in the Bohtan district of Kurdistan, know-

[1] Some stress is laid on the importance of the controversial works of Abu Ḳurra in the *Century Supplement* of J.R.A.S., 1924, pp. 233 sqq.

[2] Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* iii., i., 212.

[3] John of Phenek, pp. 141 and 175 of my edition (*Sources Syriaques*, vol. ii., Leipzig, 1908).

ing no Arabic whatever, and writing purely for his fellow-monks, could have expressed himself on a delicate subject in such a confident way, if he had no Ḳur'ānic knowledge of any kind derived either from a translated Ḳur'ān or from some of his co-religionists versed in its doctrine.

(*b*) Many Syriac writers quote complete Syriac sentences of the Ḳur'ān in their controversial works written, like the present one of Barṣalibi, for the exclusive benefit of their co-religionists. Now the Syriac phraseology used by them in such quotations is sometimes identical with that which we are publishing in this study, so that we must either advance the not very probable hypothesis that this coincidence in phraseology is always due to a fortuitous encounter in the intricate linguistic peculiarities of the Arabic Ḳur'ān, or else resort to the more likely surmise that the Syriac controversialists were drawing upon a Syriac translation known to them. So, for instance, Barhebraeus quotes in his *menārath Ḳudhshē*[1] Ḳur'ān iv., 169; v., 77; and cxii., 1-4 in words very akin to those which we are editing to-day. Since it is unlikely that this very famous West Syrian writer was referring to the present work of Barṣalībi, is it not reasonable to suppose that these two writers were working upon a Syriac translation of the Ḳur'ān which they knew was coming down to them from the times that followed the first onrush of Muslim invasions and conquests?

In this respect it is not very gratifying to notice the way our inquiry is proceeding on negative lines, but history being a science based on facts and positive records, in the absence of them we can only grope our way in all directions in search of any opening which is capable of shedding a ray of light on a previously unexplored theme. If we were allowed to express an opinion on the subject we should say, but only provisionally and with extreme reserve (until fuller light dawns), that in view of the character of the present document, and on condition that all the indications of the author are scrupulously correct, the most propitious time for the appearance of such a Syriac translation of the Ḳur'ān as that which it appears to represent, would be the years of the reign of the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, some time between A.D. 684 to 704, before the final effort of the Caliphs

[1] Folios 53b and 59b of the Syriac MS. 61 of the John Rylands Library.

to fix a text bearing the authoritative stamp of the first Orthodox believers. To this period would also more appropriately point the Syriac word translated into Persian, which we have already examined, and the general phraseology of the translation which, although under Arabic influence (being a translation from Arabic), may nevertheless be considered good and moderately classical.

We will allude in this connection to the fact of the absence from Sūrah ii. of the introductory formula, "in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful." This formula is certainly very ancient and, if I mistake not, is found in all the old MSS. of the Ḳur'ān that we possess—the oldest of which are by the way somewhat later than about the middle of the second century of the Hijrah, and correspond approximately with the first two decades that followed the 'Abbasid victory. Now unless we suppose, as we have already pointed out, that Barṣalībi was playing havoc with all literary decency, are we not allowed to argue from their absence that our Syriac translation was made from a Ḳur'ān in which the well-known formula was not, as at present, repeated before every Sūrah (with the exception of the ixth), but was found once only at the beginning of Sūrah i., i.e. the *Fātiḥah?* If the answer be in the affirmative, would it not be improbable to suppose that this formula was missing from the second Sūrah in any MS. of the Ḳur'ān written after the first century of the Hijrah? And if so, could not our Syriac translation also be ascribed to the end of the first Islamic century, or to the time of Ḥajjāj?

We may here add that we do not believe that Barṣalībi purposely omitted to quote the above formula, or that he had anything in view in so doing, because he actually quotes it before the first Sūrah and even gives us the three mysterious letters, beginning the second Sūrah, as the only break in the text between the two Sūrahs. See Nīsābūrī's *Gharāib* (i., 76). That in the Ḳur'ān used by the author the first and second Sūrahs were considered as one is established by the fact that he (see p. 217) calls the second Sūrah as the first under the name of the *Cow*.

Of the same category of the apparently aimless omissions which might likewise tend to corroborate the point at issue is the refrain recurring after almost every verse of Sūrah lv.: "which of your Lord's bounties will ye deny," which is completely missing in Syriac. There are a few more textual phenomena of Ḳur'ānic phrases that are

omitted in the translation. These the reader will easily notice for himself, and form his own judgment upon them without the aid of a Syriac scholar.

No one is more conscious than we are of the gravity of the above suggestion, as to the antiquity of the Syriac translation, and we hope that the care with which we have expressed ourselves will prove—as a Syriac saying has it—a healthy deterrent to any Arabic and Syriac scholar, whether Christian or Muslim, who might accuse us of lack of caution or of hasty conclusions. We are face to face with a Syriac text the character and the nature of which are not well defined. We have brought forward strong reasons for believing that it does not emanate from Barṣalībi, but we are not able to ascertain with confidence the exact time of its appearance. The question, therefore, of authorship, and all the subsidiary points attaching to it, should be left open until further evidence is available. We shall always be thankful to any scientific worker who is able to explain more fully and more satisfactorily than we have done the difficulties inherent in the Syriac translation as compared with the traditional *textus receptus* of the Ḳur'ān and the various indications of the MSS. After this remark we will proceed to enumerate the historical data that we have so far found in Arabic literature concerning the work of the standardisation of the Ḳur'ān that we firmly believe was undertaken by the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and his powerful lieutenant Ḥajjāj :

Kindi, who was writing some forty years before Bukhāri, outlines the history of the Ḳur'ān briefly as follows :[1] "Upon the Prophet's death, and at the instigation of the Jews, 'Ali refused to swear allegiance to Abu Bakr, but when he despaired of succeeding to the Caliphate, he presented himself before him, forty days (some say six months) after the Prophet's death. As he was swearing allegiance to him, he was asked, 'O father of Ḥasan, what hath delayed thee so long?' He answered, 'I was busy collecting the Book of God, for that the Prophet committed to my care.' The men present about Abu Bakr represented that there were scraps and pieces of the Ḳur'ān with them as well as with 'Ali ; and then it was agreed to collect the whole from every

[1] *Risàlah* or "Apology," edit. Muir, pp. 70 sqq. Casanova in *Mohammed et la fin du monde*, 2ème fascicule, *Notes Complémentaires*, p. 119 writes : "Il faut, je crois, dans l'histoire critique du Coran, faire une place de premier ordre au Chrétien Kindite."

quarter together. So they collected various parts from the memory of individuals (as *Surat al Barā'ah*, which they wrote out at the dictation of a certain Arab from the desert), and other portions from different people ; besides that which was copied out from tablets of stone, and palm leaves, and shoulder bones, and such like. It was not at first collected in a volume, but remained in separate leaves. Then the people fell to variance in their reading ; some read according to the version of 'Ali, which they follow to the present day ; some read according to the collection of which we have made mention ; one party read according to the text of Ibn Mas'ūd, and another according to that of Ubayy b. Ka'b.

" When 'Uthmān came to power, and people everywhere differed in their reading, 'Ali sought grounds of accusation against him, compassing his death. One man would read a verse one way, and another man another way ; and there was change and interpolation, some copies having more and some less. When this was represented to 'Uthmān, and the danger urged of division, strife, and apostacy, he thereupon caused to be collected together all the leaves and scraps that he could, together with the copy that was written out at the first. But they did not interfere with that which was in the hands of 'Ali, or of those who followed his reading. Ubayy was dead by this time ; as for Ibn Mas'ūd, they demanded his exemplar, but he refused to give it up. Then they commanded Zaid b. Thābit, and with him 'Abdallah b. 'Abbās, to revise and correct the text, eliminating all that was corrupt ; they were instructed, when they differed on any reading, word, or name, to follow the dialect of the Ḳuraish.

" When the recension was completed, four exemplars were written out in large text ; one was sent to Maccah, and another to Madīnah ; the third was despatched to Syria, and is to this day at Malaṭya ; [1] the fourth was deposited in Kūfah. People say that this last copy is still extant at Kūfah, but this is not the case, for it was lost in the insurrection of Mukhtār (A.H. 67). The copy at Maccah remained there till the city was stormed by Abū Sarāyah (A.H. 200) ; he did not carry it away, but it is supposed to have been burned in the conflagration. The Madīnah exemplar was lost in the reign of terror, that is, in the days of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiah (A.H. 60-64).

[1] The birth-place of Barṣalibi.

"After what we have related above, 'Uthmān called in all the former leaves and copies, and destroyed them, threatening those who held any portion back; and so only some scattered remains, concealed here and there, survived. Ibn Mas'ūd, however, retained his exemplar in his own hands, and it was inherited by his posterity, as it is this day; and likewise the collection of 'Ali has descended in his family.

"Then followed the business of Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, who gathered together every single copy he could lay hold of, and caused to be omitted from the text a great many passages. Among these, they say, were verses revealed concerning the House of Umayyah with names of certain persons, and concerning the House of 'Abbās also with names.[1] Six copies of the text thus revised were distributed to Egypt, Syria, Madīnah, Maccah, Kūfah, and Baṣrah. After that he called in and destroyed all the preceding copies, even as 'Uthmān had done before him. The enmity subsisting between 'Ali and Abu Bakr, 'Umar and Uthmān is well known; now each of these entered in the text, whatever favoured his own claims, and left out what was otherwise. How then can we distinguish between the genuine and the counterfeit? and what about the losses caused by Ḥajjāj? The kind of faith that this tyrant held in other matters is well known; how can we make an arbiter as to the Book of God a man who never ceased to play into the hands of the Umayyads whenever he found opportunity? All that I have said is drawn from your own authorities, and no single argument has been advanced but what is based on evidence accepted by yourselves; in proof thereof we have the Ḳur'ān itself, which is a confused heap, with neither system nor order."

Barhebræus[2] has preserved the interesting and important tradition: "'Abd al-malik b. Marwān used to say, 'I fear death in the month of Ramaḍān—in it I was born, in it I was weaned, in it I have collected the Ḳur'ān (*Jama'tu*[3] *l'Ḳur'āna*), and in it I was elected Caliph.'" This is also reported by Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭi,[4] as derived from Tha'ālibi.

[1] Cf. Nöldeke's *Gesch. des. Qorāns*, i., 255 (edit. Schwally).

[2] *Chron. Arab.*, p. 194 (edit. Beirut).

[3] Some writers endeavour to give to the verb *jama'a* the sense of "to learn by heart" (*Gesch. d. Qorāns*, ii., 6). If this meaning can be applied to the "collection" of 'Abdal-Malik and Ḥajjāj, why not also to the "collection" of 'Uthmān?

[4] *Tārikh al-Khulafā*, p. 227 (edit. Jarrett).

Maḳrīzi,[1] Ibn Duḳmāḳ,[2] and Ibn Ḥajar al-'As ḳalāni,[3] say about the Ḳur'ān of Asmā: "The reason why this Ḳur'ān was written is that Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf Thaḳafi wrote Ḳur'āns and sent them to the head-provinces. One of them was sent to Egypt. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, who was then governor of Egypt in the name of his brother 'Abd al-Malik, was irritated and said, 'How could he send a Ḳur'ān to a district of which I am the chief?'"

Ibn al-Athīr[4] relates that Ḥajjāj proscribed the Ḳur'ān according to the reading of Ibn Mas'ūd; and Ibn Khallikān[5] reports that owing to some orthographical difficulties such various readings had crept into the Ḳur'ān in the time of Ḥajjāj that he was obliged to ask some people to put an end to them.

The Arabic MS. of the John Rylands Library numbered 827[6] and dated (at the end of another work which precedes the one under consideration and which is written by the same hand) A.H. 732[7] A.D. 1331), contains an apparently unique work entitled: *Laḳāḥ al-Khawāṭir:* a collection of witty sayings, anecdotes, and traditions compiled by 'Abdallah b. Yaḥya b. 'Abdallah b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'ammir b. Ja'far who lived in the sixth Islamic century, because he has dedicated his work to the 'Abbasid Caliph Mustaḍi (A.D. 1170-1180). On fol. 99[a] of this MS. occurs the following anecdote: "And Rabī' b. Khaitham[8] was of the number of the great *Tābi'īn* and he had met with many of the *Ṣaḥābah* from whom he related traditions. The concubine of Rabī' b. Khaitham said that all the work of Rabī' was done in secret. If a man came to him while the exemplar of the Ḳur'ān (*muṣḥaf*) was open he would cover it with his mantle and begin to recite it aloud and say: "Until the

[1] *Khiṭaṭ*, ii., 454 (edit. Būlāk).
[2] *Intiṣār*, iv., 73 (edit. Būlak).
[3] *Raf'al-Iṣr* in Kindi's *Kitāb al-Umarā*, p. 315 (edit. Guest).
[4] iv., 463 (Tornberg).
[5] *Wafayāt*, i., 183 (text of Baron de Slane).
[6] This MS. was recently acquired by me in the East and was part of a collection where it was numbered: Mingana 122.
[7] This date is possibly that of the original from which the treatise was transcribed.
[8] Wrongly spelt "Khuthaim" in Ṭabari 3, 4, 2553. See about him, Ibn Rabban's *Book of Religion and Empire*, p. 72 (of my edition); Ibn Ḳutaibah's *Ma'ārif*, p. 36; Ibn Dur., p. 112; *Fihrist*, p. 225; Dhahabi's *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 2 (edit. Wüstenfeld), etc.

reading of Ḥajjāj comes to us" ;[1] and if a noise was heard she (the concubine) was frightened."

We believe this to be a malicious allusion to the efforts made by Ḥajjāj for the standardisation of the Ḳur'ān, efforts of which Rabī' may or may not have approved.[2]

We will close all these quotations with a reference to an anecdote registered by Ṭabari,[3] in which Ḥajjāj is reported to have said in a speech that "Ibn Zubair had changed the Book of God" ; whereupon Ibn 'Umar, who was drowsing from the effect of the length of the speech, rose and challenged Ḥajjāj, saying: "Neither thou nor he are able to do that." The answer that Ḥājjāj gave was: "It has come to my knowledge that thou shalt do it." And the story ends with the sentence: "But when he approached him privately, he was silent."

This traditional anecdote, worded as it is in a somewhat veiled style, does not clearly show what was in the mind of Ṭabari when recording it, but it does prove without any doubt that the name of Ḥajjāj was associated, in the mind of his contemporaries, with changes of some kind in the Ḳur'ān ; this is all the more so because the anecdote is referred to in connection with Ḳur'ān x., 65, which asserts that the words of God do not brook any change.

[1] *wa yaḳūlu ila an ta'tiyana Kirā'at ul al-Ḥajjāji.* The MS. has corrections and additions on the margins by at least two different owners, and these words dealing with Ḥajjāj are by one of them and are as usual followed by a *saḥḥ.*

[2] It is useful here to remark that Tawḥīdi makes mention in his *Baṣā'ir* (*ibid.*, fol. 291[a]) of an unconclusive discussion which took place between learned *Kurrā'* before Ḥajjāj concerning the right reading and interpretation of Ḳur'ān viii., 17, and ends by deploring the fact that a beautiful saying of the Prophet has not found room in the sacred text, as if Ḥajjāj was responsible for the insertion into the text of the Ḳur'ān of this or that verse. On fol. 268[b] Tawḥīdi—to whom we actually owe a treatise on the art of writing (Brock, i., 244)—gives currency to an important and significant tradition to the effect that Ḥajjāj was the first man in Islam who wrote on papyrus: *awwal man Kataba fi l'Karāṭīs.* The more I study Ḥajjāj the more I become convinced that he is one of the greatest men that Islam has ever produced. Was it not also in his time that Arabic coinage first came into use?

[3] *Tafsir*, xi., 96.

II.

The full list of the verses of the Ḳur'ān quoted in Syriac by Barṣalībi in the third discourse of his work is as follows: i., 1-7; ii., 1-10, 28, 29-35, 44-45, 81, 109, 130-131, 132, 139, 172, 254; iii., 2, 16, 18, 40-43, 45, 48-50, 52, 106, 109-110; iv., 50, 149, 154, 156-157, 162, 169; v., 16, 50-51, 69, 70, 72, 77, 85, 94, 109, 116; vi., 59, 76-78, 109; vii., 15-17, 171-172; ix., 34-35, 115; x., 94; xi., 9; xiii., 18; xv., 26-27, 39-43, 92-93; xvi., 104; xvii., 61, 87, 92-97; xix., 29, 34-35, 61-63; xx., 114-118; xxi., 52-65, 66-72, 91-92; xxii., 8-9; xxiii., 14, 103; xxiv., 2, 24; xxvi., 83-85; xxvii., 24; xxix., 13, 45; xxx., 7; xxxii., 14; xxxiii, 49-51; xxxiv., 3; xxxvi., 65; xxxvii., 14-15, 22-23, 97-113; xxxix., 32, 67, 74; xl., 78; xli., 8-11; xlii., 14; xlvi., 8; xlvii., 16-17; xlviii., 10; li., 47; lii., 19-21, 24; liii., 7-17; lv., 39, 46-56; lvi., 20-22; lvii., 4, 21-22, 24; lix., 7; lxix., 17; lxi., 14; lxvi., 12; lxxi., 14, 27-29; lxxii., 3, 26-28; lxxvi., 1, 16-20; lxxvii., 35; lxxxvi., 5, 16-20; xc., 1-4; xcvi., 1-3; xcviii., 1-7; xcix., 7-8; cxii., 1-4.

Interspersed amongst the Ḳur'ānic passages referred to in the above list are certain verses which the author, according to his own indications, quotes as from the Ḳur'ān, which he genuinely believes to be Ḳur'ānic, and which he treats in every respect as he treats the authentic verses of the Ḳur'ān, but which, on verification, prove not to be found in the Ḳur'ān of our days. Among them are some the origin of which cannot be traced to any other source but that of the Ḳur'ān. They appear to be Ḳur'ānic in the spirit and in the letter, and are not, and (with the possible exception of No. 1) even could not be, found in the tradition, to the taste of which they appear to be somewhat foreign; at all events we have not been able to account for them through the channel of the *Ḥadīth*. They are the following, with the exclusion of the verse (in p. 230) which cannot be reconstructed except by a reference to two distinct Sūrahs, xi. 2, and xiii. 43:

1°

"If all men gathered together from the East as far as the West to change one letter from the words of God, they will not be able to do it."

2°

"The Holy Spirit brought down from the Lord grace and light."[1]

[1] The author quotes also this verse as from the Ḳur'ān in Chapter xxiv. of the second discourse, but with the substitution of "*thy* Lord" for "*the* Lord."

3°

"No one understands the meaning of the Garden[1] except God."

4°

"He[2] is sitting on a throne."

The last verse needs some explanation. The word used for "throne" is *Kursya* which answers to the Arabic *Kursi*, and the nearest verse containing this word is ii., 256 which is, however, very remote in meaning, not having even a reference to "sitting." There are in the Syriac translation two other verses, xi., 9 and lvii., 4, which mention God's throne, but the Arabic word used in the Ḳur'ān for sitting is *istawa*, rendered into Syriac by *ittarraṣ*. The Arabic and the Syriac words are far from being the same thing as "sitting." Further, in the two passages mentioned above, the Arabic word for "throne" is *'Arsh*, rendered into Syriac by *'Arsa* which most generally means "bed, bier, and litter" and hardly ever "throne."

That the Ḳur'ān translated into Syriac had another verse in which the Arabic sentence used had *Kursi* and not *'Arsh* seems probable from the fact that Barṣalībi quotes two distinct Ḳur'ānic passages (see p. 218) in which it was stated that God's throne was upon water, in one of which he uses the word *Kursya* and in the other *'Arsa*, and he introduces the second by saying: "and in another place he (Muḥammad) wrote." As a matter of fact there is no other passage of the Ḳur'ān in which the throne of God is set up upon water.[3] The great imam Abu Ḥanīfah says in his *Waṣīyah* (fol. 12b of Arabic MS. 614 of the John Rylands Library) that this act of God making for and standing on the throne is to be believed as an article of faith, and he introduces it by the formula *nuḳirru*, "we profess."

There is another group of verses which it is useful here to examine. We are all aware of the fact that as the Gospels do not contain all the sayings of Christ, so the Ḳur'ān does not contain all the sayings of Muḥammad. Indeed Muslim tradition testifies to this in asserting that even the revealed passages are not consigned in their totality in the Ḳur'ān. Nöldeke[4] has long ago collected many such uncanonical

[1] Paradise of heaven; = Arab. *Jannah*. [2] God.
[3] Cf. Bukhāri, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ix., 134 sq. (edit. Cairo, A.H. 1313).
[4] *Gesch. des Qorāns*, i., 234-262 (edit. Schwally).

passages which were scattered here and there in the tradition. In our present state of knowledge we are not in a position to affirm or to deny their existence in some early copies of the Ḳur'ān of the end of the first century of the Hijrah, but there seems to be a certain possibility in asserting that some ancient genuine sayings of the Prophet, now found only in the early tradition, might, in the heroic times of conquest, have constituted an integral part of some old Ḳur'āns.

Among the verses quoted by Barṣalībi as Ḳur'ānic there are some which, like those mentioned above, are not found in our traditional and official Ḳur'ān, but which are attested in the tradition to have been actually uttered by the Prophet. They are treated by the author as genuine and authentic, and said by him to have been excerpted, like the rest of the verses, from the Ḳur'ān that he was using. Since they are so treated by him, and since they are found in the first column of his work we will retain and consider them as such till fuller light dawns.

They are the following :

1° "And Adam was fashioned and was lying on the earth forty years without soul, and the angels passed by him and saw him."

This is in our days only a traditional saying and is reported by ancient and reliable authorities.[1]

Another verse of this category is the one relating to the creation of the pen before every other created thing ; and it is as follows :

2° "He first created the pen of the writer, and He said to the pen, 'Walk and write' ; and the pen answered, 'What shall I write ? and He said, 'Write concerning what happens till the end."

This is also reported by Ṭabari and others as a saying of the Prophet.[2] A special section is devoted to it in the *Waṣīyah* of the great imam Abu Ḥanīfah (fol. 20ª in the Arabic MS. 614 of the John Rylands Library) where it is treated as an article of faith and introduced by the formula *nuḳirru*, "we profess." Cf. Muttaḳi's *Kanz*, ii., 449 (edit. Cairo).

Of the same kind is the following verse dealing with the creation of seven heavens and seven earths :

[1] Ṭabari, *Annales*, i., 89-90. Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, i., 35 (edit. Bulāḳ), etc.
[2] *Annales*, i., 29-30. *Tafsīr*, xxix., 107. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, i., 6-7 (Būlāḳ). Cf. Rāzi, *Mafātiḥ* (Cairo, 1278), vi., 330 ; Maḳdisi, *Baḍ'* (edit. Huart), i., 161.

3° "And seven heavens and seven earths were created like coverings one upon another."

A saying of the Prophet to this effect is also found in Ṭabari[1] and others.

There is another verse which is likewise treated by the author as Ḳur'ānic, but which has a pronounced traditional savour, and is undoubtedly traditional:

4° "My nation among Gentiles is like a white spot in a black ox."

The work entitled *Taysīr al-Wuṣūl ila jāmi' al-Uṣūl* of Wajīh ad-Dīn as-Shaibāni (edit. Cawnpore, ii., 163 in the chapter of *Faḍā'il*) contains the following saying of the Prophet: "You are among men like a black hair in a white ox, or like a white hair in a black ox." This is doubtless taken from Bukhāri (edit. Krehl, ii., 338).

At the end of all these uncanonical passages we will permit ourselves the observation that we do not believe that we have yet sufficient evidence to pronounce any verdict in favour of the view deduced from our Syriac authorities to the effect that the above traditional verses formed, at an unknown period preceding the time of Ḥajjāj, an integral part of some early copies of the Ḳur'ān. We are in complete ignorance both of the true state of the Ḳur'ān at that period, and of the exact provenance of the Syriac translation. In the present state of our knowledge, as we have already ventured to remark, we must follow the indications of the MSS. and look to the future for final results, in keeping constantly in our mind the important fact that we are dealing on the one hand with a sacred text, which, at least from the middle of the eighth Christian century downwards, can with great justice lay claim to an uncontestable traditional authenticity, and on the other hand with a Metropolitan of high integrity and unquestionable erudition and scholarship, who could not possibly have, or have been, deceived in a way that was as futile as it was stupid.

We will now discuss very briefly *some* of the variants in the genuine text of the Ḳur'ān. For the sake of conciseness we will divide them into two categories: (*a*) those which arise from Arabic words, mostly Ḳur'ānic, the nature of which may to a certain extent be safely conjectured; (*b*) those that arise from an Arabic text, the nature of which we are not able to ascertain with any degree of

[1] *Annales*, i., 50.

probability. Both categories are sometimes found in one single sentence. We will illustrate each group of such variants with examples :

First Category.

In xcvi., 3-4, the Ḳur'ānic sentence : "Read, and thy Lord the most generous, who *taught* by the pen," are rendered by "Read by thy Lord the noble who *is versed* in the knowledge of the pen that writes." The second member of the sentence is reminiscent of عَلِم for علّم. The phrase "that writes" may be an explanatory addition on the part of the translator who wanted to stress the fact that the Syriac word *Ḳanya* which he uses is here to be understood in the sense of "pen" and not of that of any other various meanings that the Syriac vocable possesses. According to Zamakhshari (ii., 1621), Ibn Zubair's copy actually read : "Who taught *writing* by the pen."

In ii., 131, the Ḳur'ānic verse : "And if they turn back, then they are *in a schism*," is in Syriac "And if they turn back and do not accept, they are *damned*." This seems to denote a reading شقاء for شقاق. Cf. Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, i., 444.

In xli., 9, the sentence of the Ḳur'ān which reads : "And he placed on the earth *firm mountains* above it, and blessed it, and apportioned therein its food in four days *alike* for those who ask" is translated thus : "And He made *administrators* on the earth, and He blessed it, and apportioned its food in four days, as an *answer* to those who asked (or : ask)." The first variant seems to represent the word روساء for رواسي, and the second the word سؤال for سواء.

In ii., 30, the verse of the Ḳur'ān which means : "No knowledge is ours, but what Thou *hast taught us*, Thou art the knowing, the wise," is found in Syriac as : "No knowledge is ours except *the knowledge* that Thou art the knowing and the wise." The word علّمتنا seems here to have stood as علمنا.

In xcviii., 1-2, the Ḳur'ān says : "Those of the people of the Book and the idolaters who disbelieved did not *fall off* until there came to them the demonstration, an apostle from God reading *purified* sheets (or : rolls), in which are solid Books," while the Syriac translation is : "Those who disbelieved among the readers of the Books and the idolaters who say two, will not *come back* until a proof of apostleship from God comes to them, that we (or : he) should read the Sacred

Books in which are written *demonstrating* texts." In the last part of the verse the word مطهّرة seems to have been understood as مُظْهِرة. As to the beginning of the verse the word *munfakkīn* appears to have been understood with a meaning somewhat different from that given to it by commentators (see Zamakhshari, ii., 1624, etc.). The clause "who say two" is nowhere found in the Ḳur'ān, and doubtless refers to Manichœans and Magians.

In ii., 1 and 4, the sentences of the Ḳur'ān which mean: "A *guidance* to the pious" and: "These are on *guidance* from their Lord," are rendered into Syriac by "A *guide* to the truthful" and: "These are on the *guide* from their Lord." This implies reading هادى for هدى. The translation refers the two phrases to the Ḳur'ān which is the actual guide.

In xxxvii., 101, the Ḳur'ān is: "O my boy, I have seen in a dream that I should sacrifice thee, *look then* what thou seest right," but the Syriac translation means: "O my boy, I saw in my dream that I should sacrifice thee, and *I vowed* what I saw." Here فانظر has evidently been فأنذرُ.

In iii., 43 the Ḳur'ānic sentence which means: "And I will tell you what you eat and what you *store up* in your houses" is found in Syriac as: "And I will tell you what you eat and what you *talk about* in your houses." Probably تذكرون for تذخرون.

In xxvi., 84, the Ḳur'ān says: "And give me a tongue of truth *among the last ones*," but the Syriac translation is: "And give me a true tongue *in the end* (or: hereafter)." Probably الآخرة for الآخرين.

Second Category.

In ii., 131, the phrase of the Ḳur'ān: "but God will suffice thee against them" is found in Syriac as: "*But without pain and torment*, God will deliver thee from them." This seems to emanate from a totally different source.

In xcix., 8, the Ḳur'ān says: "And he who does the weight of an atom of good shall see it, and he who does the weight of an atom of evil *shall see it*." The Syriac reads for the last "shall see it" as follows: "*God shall see it*" which seems to denote a different text. Something of the restrictive meaning of the Syriac may be found in Ṭabari (*Tafsīr*, xxx., 173-175), who quotes authorities to the effect

that only the unbeliever will see in the day of Resurrection the weight of an atom of evil.

In lxix., 17, the Ḳur'ānic : "Above them on that day *shall eight* bear the throne of thy Lord" is in Syriac written as : "They shall bear the throne of thy Lord above them *on the eighth day*." See about this p. 192.

In ii., 34, the Ḳur'ān says : "And you have an abode and a provision *for a time*," while the Syriac has : "And you have (on the earth) a dwelling *till the end of time*." Such a meaning has much in its favour. Zamakhshari (i., 70), distinctly states that the Ḳur'ānic *ila ḥīn* means "till the day of Resurrection" in other words, "till the end of time." The same thing is also asserted by Ṭabari (*Tafsīr*, i., 192).

In xv., 39-41, the sentence of the Ḳur'ān which reads : "I will make it seem seemly for them on earth, and I will seduce them all together, *save* such of Thy servants amongst them as are sincere . . .," is found in Syriac as : "I will lead them in the bad way, and I will seduce them all *even* Thy chosen servants . . . and He said, 'The right way is that Thou shouldst have no power over my servants'."

In lxxi., 28, the sentence of the Ḳur'ān which is generally understood to mean : "And they will only bear for children such as are voluptuous and unbelievers" reads in Syriac : "And of the voluptuous and licentious only unbelievers are born."

In lxi., 14, the Ḳur'ān says : "O ye who have believed, be ye the helpers of God," while the Syriac is : "O ye who have believed, be ye the Nazarenes of God, *the disciples of God*." The last sentence is not found in the Ḳur'ān and, if not an interpolation, seems to emanate from a source different from our Ḳur'ān of to-day. The translation in this verse of the word *anṣār* by *naṣrāyé* which generally means "Nazarenes" is curious. In other passages (iii., 45, etc.) the word is translated by *m'addrāné* "helpers."

To these two categories of variants we may add a third one, and that is the possible over-emphasising by the Syrian translator of the meaning of the Ḳur'ānic passages referring to Christians. In this connection, however, we are completely in the dark, and anything new we may advance should be taken as purely conjectural. We have indeed no reason to question the fairness of the translator, who, as every one may remark for himself, is endeavouring to give as accurate

and faithful a rendering of the sacred text as could possibly be given by any ancient *Ḳāri*. What seems to establish his impartiality is his confidence that he is writing a work which is in every respect genuine, and his ignorance of the fact that what he is doing is in reality in conflict with the traditional interpretation of the *Ḳurrā'*. Indeed in none of the following verses is the author drawing any hostile conclusion in the second column from Ḳur'ānic premises enunciated in the first column.

Following this preliminary remark we may include under this head the fact that in verses where Moses and Jesus are mentioned simultaneously in a Ḳur'ānic verse, the latter invariably precedes the former. As the contrary is the case in the Ḳur'ān one may well ask the question: why has this anomaly occurred in the Syriac translation? Is it possible to suppose that some early Ḳur'āns were worded in a way that violated the chronological order of events? Is it not more likely to assume that this is due to the zeal of the Syrian translator for stressing the fact that Jesus is far greater than Moses? But does this obvious chronological anomaly really help any Christian cause? On the contrary, does it not weaken it in all directions? One could hardly imagine a more stupid way of furthering a Christian cause, and I do not know any Syrian writer so dull witted as to resort to such ridiculous methods. The point, therefore, remains in the category of unsolved mysteries.

In the same category of mysteries is to be included the fact that the name of Jesus appears always in the translation as *'Īsa*, as it figures in the Arabic of the Ḳur'ān, and not *Īshō'*, as it is invariably written in Syriac; and this in spite of the fact that the names of all the Patriarchs and Prophets of the Old Testament are given in the usual Syriac, and not in the Ḳur'ānic, form; so we have *Mūshé* and not *Mūsa* (except in ii., 130, and xxx., 7) for Moses, *'Amram* and not *'Imrān* for his father, *Abrāham* and not *Ibrāhīm*, etc.

Another point which requires some explanation is the translation of xvi., 104, by: "The descent of the Holy Spirit is from thy Lord in truth to confirm the believers in Him." The Ḳur'ānic text of our days does not present any difficulty and reads: "The Holy Spirit brought it (the Ḳur'ān) from thy Lord. . . ." I consulted the commentators (Ṭabari, Zamakhshari, and Baiḍāwi), but found no variants for the beginning of the verse. Either, therefore, the Ḳur'ān

lying before the translator read تنزيل for نزّله, or the translator himself deliberately read the word in this way, in order to refer the verse to the Holy Spirit instead of the Ḳur'ān. But could he really further his cause in the eyes of Muslims with such mistranslations, or rather blunders ?

A much more important verse for theological controversies is iv., 169. In the first half of it the Ḳur'ān has : " Believe then in God and in his *apostles*," but the Syriac translation reads : " Believe then in God and in His *Messiah*." Both readings are in conformity with the letter and the spirit of the Ḳur'ān, but the Syriac " Messiah " is more in harmony with this particular verse which deals with Christians and their Christ, to the exclusion of any other prophet or apostle. Is it possible that an ancient Ḳur'ān exhibited ومسيحه for ورسله ? Is it not also possible to suppose that the important variant is due to a slip on the part of the translator in whose mind the Christian formula " God and His Messiah " may have been constantly vibrating ?

Another important passage is that dealing with the *Ḳiblah*, ii., 139. The Ḳur'ān reads : " Turn thy face towards the place of worship of holiness." All the commentators[1] understand the last words to mean the mosque of the Ka'bah, and Ṭabari[2] quotes ancient traditions to the effect that the precise direction towards which prayer is to be instituted is that of the door of the Ka'bah which, according to Burckhardt,[3] looks to the east. The Syriac translation of this passage actually reads : " Turn thy face towards the east of holiness." But we should perhaps be expecting too much from the ingenuity of the Syrian translator were we to assume that he knew the direction of the door of the Ka'bah and all the intricate Muslim questions affecting it.

The problem may be approached from another angle. Is it possible to suppose that a confusion has been made between the words المسجد and المشرق ? This should not look utterly impossible with old and undotted Kūfi Characters. Is it also possible to contend that the Christian translator wished to insinuate to his readers the fact that

[1] Tabari, *Tafsīr*, ii., 13. Zamakhshari, i., 114. Baiḍāwi (s.v.), etc.
[2] *Tafsīr*, *ibid.*, p. 15.
[3] See also Hughe's *Dictionary of Islām*, p. 256 sq. In Bukhāri (iv., 187 edit. Cairo), and others, Syria is on the left-hand side of the Ka'bah.

the Muslims also did turn, or had to turn, towards the east in their prayers, as the Eastern Christians did in that time?[1] If only we were justified in translating the Syriac word *Madhnḥa*, "east," by *Ḳiblah* more than half of the problem would be solved. It is probably along this line that the right solution of the problem is to be sought. In the preceding discourse the author has a whole chapter on *madhnḥa* in the sense of "direction of prayer," or something equivalent to *Ḳiblah*.

Before closing this short study it would be useful to remark that unfortunately the Syriac translation has not elucidated the meaning of some difficult words found in the Ḳur'ān. So the words used for the problematic *Houris* of paradise are simply transliterated as ܚܘܪ̈ܝܡ (with *siāmê*), and the words *Salsabīl* and *Zanjabīl* are quoted as *Salibasīl* and *Zanjibal* respectively. So is the case with *ḥanīf* (name of the traditional religion of Abraham in the Ḳur'ān), which is once translated by *Kashshīra*, "diligent," and once omitted in the translation of the first column but registered verbally in the refutation of the second column. The word *Ṣamad* occurs as *Ṣmidha* and *Kāfūr* as *Kafru*.

We should also note the fact that the mysterious letters found at the beginning of Sūrah ii. appear also in the translation. As far as the names of Sūrahs are concerned only four are mentioned: ii., iv., v., xxix., and this mention, in the case of two of them, may even be due to the copyist who seemed to know something about Islam.

There are some passages in which there is clear proof of a double translation,—a phenomenon found more or less frequently in almost all translations. See for instance i., 5; ii., 2, 3, 5, etc.

An explanatory word resembling the case of a double translation is also found in iii., 109, and lii., 20. See also in this connection ii., 2, 7 and xcvi., 3-4. We have no means of ascertaining whether such words should be fathered on Barṣalībi or on the translation of the Ḳur'ān that he was using. See what has been said above concerning lii., 20.

In the following pages we will give a literal translation of the first column of all the third discourse of Barṣalībi, with the introductory

[1] If this were his intention it would indeed have been the depth of stupidity on his part. See a scathing saying of the Prophet concerning "the east" in Bukhāri, iv., 190 (edit. Cairo).

and editorial words, as found in the Syriac text which accompanies it. In this way the reader who is not familiar with Syriac will have before him every detail likely to enable him to form an independent judgment. Of the text of the second column, however, we give no translation because it is of little importance for the study of the Ḳur'ān, having been solely written for controversial purposes between Christians and Muslims ; but for the benefit of Syriac scholars we have deemed it advisable to give a facsimile of the Syriac text of all the third discourse of Barṣalībi containing both the first and the second columns.

Towards the middle of his discourse, the author, in order to illustrate the queerness of some Muslim beliefs concerning biblical events, has registered the fabulous story of an individual called 'Aus b. 'Anaḳ who was the only human being, apart from those sheltered in Noah's ark, who was not drowned in the Flood. The copyist, evidently to save space, or perhaps also by inadvertence, has written the first half of the story in the first column and the other half in the second column of the previous page (!) He noticed his error in time and corrected it.

This 'Aus b. 'Anaḳ is evidently 'Auj b. 'Anaḳ or A'naḳ spoken of by Ṭabari and others.[1] Barṣalībi's Christian authority seems to have been well acquainted with Islamic history, since he records about 'Aus the following saying : " No one remained from mankind except Noah and those who were with him in the ark, and 'Aus, son of 'Anaḳ, as the People of the Book say." This is an exact translation of a tradition reported by Ṭabari in the pages referred to above.

We say deliberately " Barṣalībi's Christian authority " because his own knowledge of Muslim religious and historical books seems to have been extremely meagre. Here is what he writes on this subject in the preliminary note of his third discourse (see facsimile) : " And 'Uthmān wrote this book (i.e. the Ḳur'ān), and it has been called the 'Uthmānic book. And the Muslims say that they have two other books apart from their Ḳur'ān : the book called *Maghāzi* in which are the deeds and the battles of Muḥammad. At the end of the other book which they call *Mukhtara* they show the image of Muḥammad whom also they call Aḥmad." Of the innumerable Muslim works of *ḥadīth* and history, preceding the twelfth century, the author had apparently heard only

[1] *Annales*, i., 192 and 501. *Tafsīr*, xii., 23. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, i., 35 (Bulāḳ).

of the *Maghāzi* and the *Mukhtāra* (*!*), and even these he had not seen and read; he was aware of their existence only by hearsay: "the Muslims say that they have. . . ."

A man of this calibre would hardly be able to translate the Ḳur'ān, or to use the early works of tradition in a controversial work between Christians and Muslims.

A reader has added on the margins some words or phrases of the Ḳur'ān in Garshūni, often in a perpendicular direction.

There are in the Syriac text some errors of the copyist to which we wish here to draw attention in the order in which they occur in the MS. We refer only to the text of the first column, and even there omit the slight grammatical mistakes, most of which are found more or less frequently in almost every Syriac MS.

لعذذا	read	لعذمذا	(possibly)
وذها	,,	جذها	
مذمم	,,	حذمم	
حذه	,,	حذ	
جاحمتحم	,,	ماحمتحم	
لملتمذا	(twice) ,,	لملقذا	
جبجد	,,	جبجذا	
علمذا	,,	علمده	(possibly)
لَسْذا	,,	لَسْذا	
حمعمده	,,	حمعحم	(possibly)
ماممعحله	,,	ماممعحله	
جمهسوم	,,	جمهسذم	

ܗܠܟܬ̈ܐ	read	ܗܠܟܬ̈ܐ
ܐܡܝܢ	,,	ܐܡܝܢ
ܐܡܝܢ	,,	ܐܡܝܢ
ܐܡܝܢ	,,	ܐܡܝܢ
ܡܪܚܡܢ	,,	ܡܪܚܡܢ
ܠ	,,	ܠ
ܐܡܝܢ	,,	ܐܡܝܢ
ܐܠܡܝܢ	,,	ܐܠܡܝܢ
ܐܠܗܐ	,,	ܐܠܗܐ (?)
ܣܪܛ	,,	ܣܪܛ
ܐܠ	,,	ܐܠ

III.

Translation.

[*The italics denote the author's editorial words.*]

The third discourse of the Treatise against the Muslims. Chapter 25 *in which there are special parts of the Ḳur'ān in the upper column, and a short refutation of them in the lower column, because a detailed refution* (*of them*) *has been given in the previous chapters.*

In the name of God the merciful and the compassionate. Thanks to God, the lord of the worlds, the merciful and the compassionate, the King of the day of judgment. Thee we serve and thee we ask for help. Show us, and guide us in, the path of those on whom Thou hast lavished graces, and not of those Thou art wroth with, nor those who go astray (i., 1-7).

Alaph, Lām, Mīm. That book in which there is no doubt, a guide to the truthful. Those who believe in the thing that is hidden and unseen, and set up prayer, and from the victuals or rations that we gave, spend and feed; and who believe in what came down to, and was bestowed on, thee, and in what was revealed to those before thee, and believe in the hereafter. Those are on the guide[1] from their Lord, (and) these are who are the prosperous. But those who disbelieved, it is one and the same for them if ye warn them; and if ye advise them they will not believe. God has set a seal upon their heart and upon their hearing, and on their sight is dimness, and for them are grievous torments. And there are people who say 'we believe in God and in the day of judgment or trial,' but they are not believers. They deceive God and the believers, but they do not deceive except themselves, and they do not perceive and feel. In their heart is sickness, and God will make them still more sick. And they have grievous torments in what they lied. And when we said to them, 'Do not evil in the earth' they say 'It is we who do right things'" (ii., 1-10).

And then: "Those who disbelieved among the readers of the Books and the idolaters who say two,[2] will not come back until a proof of apostleship from God comes to them, that we[3] should read the sacred books in which are written texts which demonstrate. And the readers of the Books were not divided except after knowledge came to them. And they were not ordered to worship except God, in pure conscience, and to set up prayer and to give alms; and this is the true religion. But those of the readers of the Books who disbelieved and the idolaters are in hell for ever, and they are the most wretched of all the creatures. And those who believed and did good things, they are the best of all the creatures, and their reward from their Lord is the paradise of Eden" (xcviii., 1-7).

The "Surat al. Baḳarah" i.e. "cow" is the first book of theirs in which it is written thus: "Say 'We believed in God and in what came down to us and in what came down to Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the Tribes, and what was brought to Jesus[4] and Moses and what was brought unto the prophets from their Lord.

[1] I.e. presumably the Ḳur'an of the beginning of the verse.
[2] I.e. Dualists (?)
[3] Or: he.
[4] Written *'Īsa* and not *Īshō'*. Note his mention before Moses.

And we will not distinguish between them, and we are "mashlmāné"[1] to Him. And if they believe as you have believed in Him, they are guided, and if they turn back and do not accept, they are lost; but without pain and torment; God will deliver thee from them, for He is hearer and wise" (ii., 130-131).—"For each one of *the prophets* we have made a law and a different pathway, and had God pleased He would have made all of *them* one nation" (v., 52-53).

And when he wished to speak of the creation he said: "He first created the pen of the writer and he said to the pen, 'Walk and write,' and the pen answered, 'What shall I write,' and He said, 'Write concerning what happens till the end.'"[2]—"Read by the name of thy Lord who created man from a moist clay. Read by thy Lord, the noble, who is versed in the knowledge of the pen that writes"[3] (xcvi., 1-3).—"And seven heavens and seven earths were created like coverings one upon another."[4]—*And* "the earth was made in two days" (xli., 8).—"And His throne was upon the water" (xi., 9).

And in another place[5] *he wrote:* "He made the heavens and the earth in six days, and His throne was upon the water" (xi., 9).—"Say, 'Do you disbelieve in Him who made the earth in two days, and do you make partners to Him the Lord of the worlds!' And He made administrators on the earth, and He blessed it and apportioned its food in four days, as an answer to those who ask. Then He stretched in heaven which was but smoke; and He said to heaven and to earth 'Submit either willingly or forcibly'; and they answered Him 'We come having submitted.' And He decreed and ordered seven heavens in two days, and revealed in every heaven what was necessary to it" (xli., 8-11).—"It will not be what you will, but what God wills" (lxxvi., 30, and lxxxi., 29, etc.).

"And he who does the weight of an atom of good shall see it, and he who does the same of evil God shall see it" (xcix., 7-8).—*And in another place he said: God* "it is who created the heavens and the earth and all therein in six days, and then He stretched on the throne" (lvii., 4).—"And they shall bear the throne of thy Lord above them on the eighth day" (lxix., 17).

[1] I.e. *Muslims* = resigned. [2] See *Foreword*.
[3] This verse is taken from the second column.
[4] See *Foreword*. Cf. xli., 11.
[5] There is no other place in the Ḳur'ān. See *Foreword*.

Chapter 26.

From the Ḳur'ān.

"The Lord said to the angels, 'I am about to establish a vicegerent in the earth,' and the angels answered, 'Wilt thou establish therein one who will do evil therein, and shed blood therein, and we have glorified Thee, Confessed Thee, and hallowed Thee'" (ii., 28).—*And again he said:* "'I know what ye know not.' And He taught Adam all the names; then He showed the names to the angels and asked them, 'Declare to me these names if ye are truthful.' And the angels said, 'Glory be to Thee, no knowledge is ours except the knowledge that Thou art the knowing and the wise. And God said to Adam, 'Declare to them these names.' And God said to the angels, 'Did I not say to you that I know the secrets of the heavens and of the earth, and I know what you wish to say, and what is still in you before it is said?' And when we said to the angels, 'Adore Adam,' all adored him save only Satan, who refused and was too proud and became one of the unbelievers. And we said to Adam, 'Enter thou and thy wife into Paradise, and eat what you want and wish to eat; but do not draw near this tree or ye will be of the transgressors.' And Satan deceived them and drove them out, and we said to them, 'Go down together, one of you the enemy of the other, and in the earth there will be a dwelling for you till the end of the time'" (ii., 29-35).

"When we warned Adam from the beginning concerning the commandement, he forgot; and we did not find the warning in him. And when we said to the angels, 'Adore Adam,' they adored, save Satan, who became recalcitrant. And we said to Adam, 'Lo, he is a foe to thee and to thy wife. Take care that he should not drive you out of Paradise or thou wilt be wretched. And thou hast not to be hungry there, nor naked, nor thirsty; and thou wilt be in happiness (and immune) from heat and pain.' But Satan deceived him and beguiled him and said to him, 'I shall tell thee about the tree that it will be immortal, and a kingdom that shall not wane or perish'" (xx., 114-118).

And: "When thy Lord said to the angels, 'I am about to create a man out of clay; and when I have fashioned him, and

breathed into him of my spirit, then fall ye down and adore him.' And all adored him, save Satan, and he became of the unbelievers" (xxxviii., 71-74).—"That future abode, we have made it for those who do not seek haughtiness nor do evil in this world" (xxviii., 83).—"'O Satan, what prevented thee from adoring whom I have fashioned with my hands? Hast thou been too big with pride, or hast thou been amongst the exalted?' Satan said, 'I am better, because Thou hast created me from fire, and him Thou hast fashioned from clay'" (xxxviii., 75-77).—"And when we created man from hard clay and from putrid mud" (xv., 26).

": And the spirits that dwell in the air,[1] which we have created before from sharp wind" (xv., 27).—"And Adam was fashioned, and was lying on the earth forty years without soul, and the angels passed by him and saw him."[2]—"A long time passed over the man, and there was nothing worth remembering about him" (lxxvi., 1).—*And Satan said:* "O Lord, because Thou hast deceived me I will direct them in the wrong way, and I will deceive them all, even Thy chosen servants; and He said, 'This is the right way that thou shouldst have no authority over my servants, save over those who follow thee of such as go astray; and hell is the trysting-place of all of them'" (xv., 39-43. Cf. xxxviii., 71-85).

": He said, 'For Thou hast deceived me, I will lie in wait for them in the straight path; then I will approach them from before their hands and from behind them, from their right and from their left, and Thou shalt not find many of them uttering thankfulness.' He said, 'Go forth therefrom, despised and expelled for those who follow thee; I will fill hell with you together'" (vii., 15-17).—"And Satan made their deeds and their work pleasing to them" (xxvii., 24; xxix., 37).—"And when we sent Noah to his people, he remained and was among them nine hundred and fifty years; and the deluge overtook them while they were unjust" (xxix., 13).

Chapter 27.

"And Noah said, 'My Lord, leave not upon the earth one of the unbelievers; if Thou shouldst leave them, they will lead astray Thy

[1] So the translator understood the *Jinns*. [2] See *Foreword*.

servants, and of the voluptuous and licentious only unbelievers are born. My Lord, pardon me and my father and my mother, and whomsoever enters my house believing, and (pardon) the believers men and women, and do not increase to the unjust except destruction'" (lxxi., 27-29).

"And Noah cried to his son who had gone aside, 'O my boy, come with us into the ark, and be not of the unbelievers,' and he said, 'I will climb a mountain and I will be saved from the water'; and Noah said, 'There is no one that can be saved from His command except the one on whom He may have mercy';[1] and the waters came between them" (xi., 44-45).—(*And he said of Noah's wife that she was of the unbelievers like the wife of Lot,*[2] *and that she was drowned in water because she did not go into the ark;*[3] *and also that one of Noah's sons did not go into the ark and was drowned.*[4] *And he further wrote:* "And if thou art in doubt of that which we *God* have sent down unto thee, ask those that were before you" (x., 94).—*He said:* "The Book has come down to thee in the justice and truth of that which was before it, and from the Torah and the Gospel; and the Torah and the Gospel were sent as guides to men" (iii., 2).

"What your Apostle orders you do (it), and what I order you not to do, desist from" (lix., 7).—"And when thy Lord took from the children of Adam, out of their loins, a grain for their children, and God made them bear witness against themselves and said, 'Am I not your God'? And they said, 'Yea, we bear witness,' lest you should say, 'Our fathers made partners to God, and we were but (their) children after them: wilt Thou then destroy us for what the vaindoers did'" (vii., 171-172).—"And when we took from the prophets their compact and their covenant, from thee and from Noah, and Abraham, and Jesus,[5] and Moses son of 'Amram, and took from them a rigid and truthful compact" (xxxiii., 7).

[1] Or: the one who loves him. [2] lxvi., 10.

[3] This is not found in the Ḳur'ān but is found in the Tradition possibly under the influence of lxvi., 10.

[4] xi., 45.

[5] In Syriac *'Īsa* (as above) and not *'Īshō'*. Note that here also Jesus precedes Moses.

Chapter 28.

"And when we showed Abraham all the heavenly Kingdoms and those of the earth that he should not be of those who doubt. But when the night fell on him and he saw a star he said, 'This is my Lord'; and after it had set he said, 'I love not those that go and come.' And when he saw the moon rising and shining he said, 'This is my Lord,' but when he saw it setting he said, 'If God does not become my guide I shall be of the people who err.' And when he saw again the sun rising from its place he said, 'This is my Lord, this is the greatest'; and after it had set he said, 'O people, I am clear of the partner that you are associating with God; I have turned my face to Him who commanded and created the heavens and the earth, and I am diligent to Him, and I am not of those who associate others with God'" (vi., 76-78).

"And when we bestowed on Abraham revelation before, we knew him. And he said to his father and to the people of his father, 'What is this image which you continually worship?' And they said, 'We found our fathers worshipping it.' He said to them, 'Both you and your fathers have been in an error that is obvious.' They said to him, 'Hast thou brought the truth to us, or art thou but of those who jest?' He said to them, 'Nay, but your Lord is Lord of the heavens and the earth and their maker; and I am one of the witnesses; and by God I will plot against[1] your idols that you took back from me. And he brake them all except the largest of the images, that they may not go back to it (or: him) and search (for it?). And the idolaters said, 'Who has done this with our gods? because he is of the evildoers.' They said, 'We heard a youth whom they remembered, Abraham by name.' They said, 'Bring him before the eyes of every man that they may haply bear witness.' They said to Abraham, 'Was it thou who did this to our gods, O Abraham? And Abraham answered them, 'It was the largest of them that did this to them, but ask them if they can answer.' The idolaters thought then in their mind and said, 'You are the wrongdoers of yourselves.' And then they bent their heads to the earth. And they said to Abraham, 'Thou knowest; are these able to speak? And Abraham answered and

[1] Doubtful meaning.

said to them, 'Will ye serve, beside God, what cannot profit you nor harm you? fie upon you and what ye serve beside God, while you do not see it.' And the idolaters got angry and said, 'Burn him and you will find your gods, if ye are going to do so.' And God said to the fire, 'Be thou cold in safety over Abraham, and wish him good.' And we contended for him, and we delivered Abraham and Lot to the land which we blessed for the worlds, and we bestowed upon Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, his grandson, and all of them we made righteous from the body" (xxi., 52-72).

"But after the time of the promise that his father made to him, and after it was made manifest to him that he was an enemy to God, he freed himself from him" (ix., 115).—"My Lord, grant me wisdom, and mix me with the righteous, and give me an honest tongue in the hereafter (or: in the end), and make me of the heirs of the Paradise of pleasures, and pardon my father who was of those who err" (xxvi., 83-85).—"I am going to my Lord, and He will guide me. O my Lord, grant me sons from the righteous; and we gave him glad tidings of a submissive boy. And when Abraham reached the spot, while walking he said to his son, 'O my boy, I have seen in my dream that I should sacrifice thee, and I vowed what I saw.' Then his son answered him, 'O my father, do what thou hast been bidden, and thou wilt find me, if God wills, one of the patient.'

"And when he made his son lie on his cheek upon his side we called, 'O Abraham, thou hast verified and fulfilled thy dream, and we are the rewarders of those who do good things; but if this deed were to be done, a great wrong would be done.' And we ransomed his son with a mighty sacrifice, and we left his son for him to the future generations. And peace be upon Abraham, for we have rewarded him with a reward that is due to the righteous; and he is one of our believing servants. And we gave him glad tidings of Isaac, a prophet from the righteous; and we blessed him and Isaac, and of their seeds is one who is righteous and one who is an obvious wronger of himself" (xxxvii., 97-113).

In Surat al-Baḳarah God said that: "We gave Moses the book and we followed him up with the prophets, and we gave Jesus,[1] son of Mary, the truth, and we fortified him with the Holy Spirit.

[1] In Syriac here also *'Īsa* and not *Īshō'*.

And when the prophets came to you, you were proud in your souls without pity, and some of them you killed and some of them you charged with lying" (ii., 81).—*The followers of Muḥammad said:* "We believed in God, and in what He revealed to us and in what He revealed to Abraham, to Ishmael, to Isaac, to Jacob, and to the Tribes, and in what was brought to Jesus[1] and to Moses, and in what was brought unto the prophets. We have not distinguished between any one of them, and we are faithful to them" (ii., 130).—"It is the baptism of God, and whose baptism is better than God's, and we worship Him" (ii., 132).

Chapter 29.

In the same "Cow" God said: "These apostles whom we sent, some of them are higher than the others; of them is one to whom God spake; but Jesus,[2] son of Mary, we gave him the knowledge of truth, and fortified him by the Holy Spirit" (ii., 254).—*In the "Table":* "And we announced to Abraham Jesus,[2] son of Mary, and we sent him after the prophets in order that he might confirm that which was given before him in the Torah; and we brought him the Gospel wherein there is the tradition of light, in order to confirm what was given before him in the Torah, and to guide and admonish the faithful" (v., 50).—*God said:* "O readers of the Books! Ye rest on nought until ye confirm the Torah and the Gospel, and all things given in them by their Lord" (v., 72).

And God said to Muḥammad that: "We sent many prophets before thee, the names of some of whom we have told thee, and of some of whom we have not told thee; and no prophet that I sent was ever able to work miracles except by my order; and when my order came, he decided with truth" (xl., 78).—*And Muḥammad said:* "I believed in every Book which has been given by God, and I am bidden to put straightness[3] between you; our God is your God. We have no argument with you, because to Him we will eventually go" (xlii., 14).—*Muḥammad said:* "I said nothing from the apostles, and I do not know what will be done with me or with you, and I am but a warner and a preacher" (xlvi., 8).—*And God said:*

[1] Here also it is spelt *Isa*, and it precedes Moses.
[2] Spelt *'Īsa*.
[3] Or: reconciliation.

"O ye who have believed, be ye the Nazarenes of God, the disciples of God" (lxi., 14).—"And a party of the children of Israel believed, and a party did not believe; and we aided those who believed against their enemies, and when the morning came, they ruled over them" (lxi., 14).

And the angel said to Mary: "God gives thee the glad tidings of a Word from Him whose name is the Messiah Jesus,[1] son of Mary, living in this world and in the world to come; and he is of those who are near (to God). And he shall speak to people even when in the cradle, and in the assembly he is of the righteous. And Mary said, 'How can I have a son, when man has not touched me?' And he said to her, 'Thus God creates what He pleaseth; and when He decrees a thing He says: Be and it is; and He will teach him the Book, and the wisdom, and the Torah, and the Gospel; and he shall be an apostle to the children of Israel, and he shall say to them, 'I have brought to you a command from your Lord that I will create from clay something in the form of a bird, and I blow thereon, and it shall become a bird by God's command; and I will heal those affected with elephantiasis and the lepers; and I will bring the dead to life, by God's command; and I will tell you what you eat, and what you talk about in your houses. In these there is knowledge and miracle if ye be believers'" (iii., 40-43).

And God said to Jesus:[1] "I will make thee die and take thee up to me, and I will clear thee of those who disbelieved, and will make those who believed in thee and followed thee above those who disbelieved in thee, in the day of Resurrection. Then you will come to me, and I will decide between you concerning all that about which you disagreed. And as for those who disbelieved in thee, I will punish them with grievous and bitter punishment in this world and the next, and they shall have none to help them. But as for those who believed and did good things, He will pay them their reward, and God loves not the unjust" (iii., 48-50).

And in Sūrah of Women "Nisā'" the Jews say: "We have killed the Messiah, Jesus,[1] son of Mary, the apostle of God; but they did not kill him and they did not crucify him, but in appearance it appeared to them in this way. And those who differed in his story

[1] Here also *'Īsa*.

are in doubt. But God took him up with Him, and God is mighty and wise. For there shall not be one of the holders of the Books but shall believe in him before he dies; and in the day of Resurrection he shall be a witness against them" (iv., 156-157).—"The Messiah, son of Mary, the apostle of God, the Word and Spirit from Him, and He sent it to Mary; believe then in God and in His Messiah" (iv., 169).—*Jesus*[1] *said:* "Peace be upon me the day I was born, and the day I die, and the day I shall be raised up alive." *And God said:* "The word of Jesus[1] is the word of truth concerning which[2] they dispute" (xix., 34-35).

"Those who repent and believe and act aright, these I shall admit into the Garden, and I shall not wrong them in anything; and they shall not hear there the voice of fear and fright, but that of joy and of peace; and they have therein their provision, morning and evening" (xix., 61-63).—*And God said that Mary:* "guarded her virginity, and we breathed into her[3] our spirit, and we made her and her son a sign unto the worlds. This is your religion and it is one religion, I am your Lord, and serve me" (xxi., 91-92).—*And God said:* "Mary, daughter of 'Amram, who guarded her virginity, and we breathed into her[3] our spirit, and she believed in God and in His Book, and became of the saints" (lxvi., 12).—*And God said to Muḥammad:* "The descent of the Holy Spirit is from thy Lord in truth, to confirm the believers in Him" (xvi., 104).—*And God said to Muḥammad:* "If they ask thee concerning the Spirit say to them, 'He is from my Lord, and I have been given but little from[4] His knowledge" (xvii., 87).

Chapter 30.

Further excerpts from the Kur'ān, from various places.

About whom who studies their book without knowledge he said thus: "Amongst men there is one who wrangles concerning God without knowledge or straightforwardness or an illuminating book; and he turned from that to stray away from the path of God;[5] for him there is disgrace in this world, and in that day of Resurrection we will

[1] Here also *'Isa.* [2] Or: whom. [3] Or: it. [4] Or: of.
[5] Or: he turned from straying away from the path of God.

make him taste the torment of burning" (xxii., 8-9).—*And he said:* "Come to our word and yours which is (laid down) plainly, that we will serve God alone" (iii., 57).—"They disbelieve who say, 'God is Trinity'" (cf. v. 77).[1]—*And Muḥammad said:* "My nation among Gentiles is like a white spot in a black ox."[2]—*If they ask thee concerning signs,* "say to them, 'Signs are with God'" (vi., 109).—"Naught hindered us from sending signs, save that those of old said they were lies" (xvii., 61).

"And the unbelievers say 'Unless a sign come down upon him from his Lord.' Thou art nothing but a warner, and every nation has its guide" (xiii., 8).—"The *Ṣmīdha* is one; He begets not and He is not begotten, and there is no one similar or like unto Him" (cxii., 1-4).—"O prophet, we have made lawful (for thee) thy wives whose dowry thou hast given, and every thing that thy right hand possesses from what God has lavished on thee, and the daughters of thy paternal uncle and the daughters of thy paternal aunts, and the daughters of thy maternal uncle and the daughters of thy maternal aunts who fled[3] with thee, and any believing woman if she gives herself up exclusively to the Prophet, if the Prophet desires to approach her; she is given to thee in a special manner to the exclusion of all the believers. We know what we ordained for them concerning their wives and what their right hand possesses, that there should be no blame on thee; and God permits and forgives. Put off whomsoever thou wilt of them and take with thyself whomsoever thou wilt, and if thou desirest to take one of those thou hast divorced, thou wilt be without blame if thou takest her" (xxxiii., 49-51).

"Those who disbelieve in God and His apostles desire to make a distinction between God and His apostles and say, that they believe in part and disbelieve in part, and desire to take a midway course between this and that" (iv., 149).—"Had they maintained the Torah and the Gospel, what has come down to them from their Lord, they would have eaten from above their heads and from below their feet. Among them is a righteous nation, and the majority of them profess badly" (v., 70).—"Had the holders of the Books believed it would have been

[1] This verse is more exactly quoted below. Is it possible that there was another Kur'ānic verse worded in this way?

[2] See *Foreword.*

[3] Syriac: *hagrān* (from *hagar*).

better for them. There are believers among them, but the majority of them are wicked" (iii., 106).—"You pervert the words from their places" (iv., 48; v., 16).—*Jesus said:* "Who will be my helper with God? And the apostles said, 'We are the helpers with God'" (lxi., 14; iii., 45).—"O ye who have been given the Books, believe in what we have brought down, for it confirms that which you have with you" (iv., 50).

"And if thou art in doubt of that which we have brought down to thee, ask those who read the Books before thee; because the truth has come to thee from thy Lord, be not of those who are in doubt" (x., 94).—"And those to whom the Books were given did not contradict one another until after knowledge came to them, through their mutual bickering" (iii., 16).—"On that day neither man nor demon[1] shall be asked about his crime" (lv., 39).—"Truly we will question them, one and all, about what they were doing before" (xv., 92-93).—"We have forgotten you as you have forgotten this day" (xxxii., 14; xlv., 33).—"There is nothing hidden from thy Lord" (iii., 4, etc.).[2]—"This is the day in which you may not speak" (lxxvii., 35).—"In the day of Resurrection you will dispute with one another before your Lord" (xxxix., 32).—"On that day we will seal their mouths" (xxxvi., 65).—*And he said further:* "Their tongues shall bear witness against them" (xxiv., 24).—"There is no relationship between *men* on that day nor shall they ask one another anything" (xxiii., 103).—"The day when he shall flee from his brother and his mother and his father" (lxxx., 34-35).—"And they began to question each other" (xxxvii., 27).

"Any of your women who committed adultery, if they raise against them four witnesses about it,—the women such as these are to be kept in houses until death takes them or God shall make for them a dissolution" (iv., 19).—"The adulterer and the adulteress, scourge each of them with a hundred stripes" (xxiv., 2).—"And while he was in the high storey he drew near and hovered, as of the[3] angle of a bow, or nigher still, and he inspired his servant what he inspired him, and will ye dispute with him on what he saw? And he saw him on another descent towards the Garden, near the tree, and the

[1] Translation of *Jinn* which in xv., 27 (see above) has been rendered by "Spirit that dwells in the air."

[2] About this passage see *Foreword*. [3] Length? (doubtful meaning.)

sight swerved not nor wandered" (liii., 7-17).—"And when he came to it he was called from the right side of the valley, in the blessed watery plain, out of the tree, 'O Moses, I am the God of the worlds'" (xxviii., 30).

And Jesus said to the Jews: "I will create for you from clay something in the form of a bird, and I blow thereon, and it shall become a bird by God's command" (iii. 43).—"Naught precluded men from believing when guidance came to them save their saying 'Has God sent a man as His apostle?' say, 'Were there angels on the earth walking in quiet, we had sent them an angel as an apostle'" (xvii., 96-97).—"The good luck of our Lord was raised, because He possesses neither consort nor son" (lxxii., 3).—*And:* "He knows the hidden things, and no one knows the hidden things of His knowledge, save such apostle as is chosen by Him. He sends a guard before him and after him, that he may know that they have delivered the apostleship of their Lord" (lxxii., 26-28).—"Do ye not see how God has created the seven heavens in stories, and has set therein the moon for light" (lxxi., 14).

When God swears, He says thus: "I swear by the Lord of the easts and the wests that I am able" (lxx., 40).—"Bring the unjust and all who follow them and all what they used to serve, and direct them to the way of hell" (xxxvii., 22-23).—"I did not say; if I had said, Thou wouldst have known it, because there is nothing hidden from Thee" (v., 116).—"Then we made *the man* a new creation; blessed be God the best of creators" (xxiii., 14).—"And we have wedded them to wives 'ḥur'ain'" (xliv., 54).—"And we sent to them abundantly fruits and meat such as they like" (lii., 22).—"And round them shall go their sons who resemble beautiful pearls" (lii., 24).

And: "Garden, whose breadth is as the breadth of the heavens and of the earth" (lvii., 21).—"No one understands it but God."[1]—"Righteousness is not that ye turn your faces towards the east or the west, but righteousness is this: that one believes in God and in the last day" (ii., 172).—"Turn thy face towards the east[1] of sacredness; wherever ye be, turn your faces towards it" (ii., 139).—"God's are the easts and the wests; and towards whatever directions you

[1] See *Foreword.*

turn your faces, there is the face of God, because God is broad and knowing" (ii., 109).—"If all men gathered together from the East as far as the West to change one letter from the words of God, they will not be able (to do it)." [1]

"Is it thou who didst say to men, 'Know me and my mother as two gods, and serve us instead of God'" (v., 116).—*From the Sūrah of the "Spider":* "Do not dispute with the holders of the Books except with the nicest of words" (xxix., 45).—"Do good works because God loves those who do good works" (v., 94).—"And they say, 'We will not believe in thee until He make a fountain gush forth for thee from the earth; or there be made for thee a garden of palms and grapes, and thou make rivers flow round it; or thou make heaven to fall as thou saidst; or thou bring us God or receiving angels; or there be made for thee a house of gold; or thou climb up into the heaven. And we will not believe in thee until thou bring down to us a book from heaven that we may read.' Say to them, 'Praise be to my Lord! am I anything but a man messenger?' [2] What precluded men from believing when guidance came to them . . ." (xvii., 92-96). —"Say *to them, God* is a sufficient witness between me and you that I am His messenger to you" (cf. xi., 2; xiii., 43; xlvi., 7 and 8).— "And when they see a sign they doubt and say, 'This is obvious sorcery'" (xxxvii., 14).[3]

"Mary, daughter of 'Amram, who guarded her private parts, and we breathed therein of our spirit, and she verified the words of her Lord and his Book and was of the devout" (lxvi., 12).—"O sister of Aaron, thy father was not a bad man, nor thy mother a blasphemer" (xix., 29).—"The heavens *are* rolled up in His right hand" (xxxix., 67).—*And* "the hands *of God* are outspread" (v., 69).—*And* "the hands of God are above their hands" (xlviii., 10). —"And heaven—we have built it with hands" (li., 47).—*And* "the good luck of the Lord is high" (lxxii., 3).—*And* "He is

[1] See *Foreword.* [2] Or: apostle.

[3] Between this verse and the next is a large heading "Prayer of the Muslims" which is: "O God, pray over Muḥammad and over the children of his paternal uncle, and bless Muḥammad and the children of his paternal uncle, as Thou hast prayed over, and blessed, and hadst mercy upon Abraham and the children of his paternal uncle; for He is high and glorious."

sitting on a throne."[1]—*And* "He ascended to heaven while it was but smoke" (xli., 10).

"I do not swear by this land, and thou dwellest in this land; and the Father and the one who is begotten of Him. We have created man in anger"[2] (xc., 1-4).—"The Holy Spirit brought down from the Lord grace and light."[3]—*And* "God said. 'O Jesus,[4] son of Mary, remember my grace towards thee and towards thy mother, when I fortified thee with the Holy Spirit'" (v., 109).—"Are unbelievers who say 'God is the third of three," (v., 77).—"Of the holders of the Books there is a nation, *that is to say a community*, who stand all the night and recite the miracles of God; and they adore, and believe in, God, and in the last day, and bid good things and forbid bad things, and do charitable things with ease; and they are righteous" (iii., 109-110).

"The Jews said, 'God's hands are fettered'; the hands of Jews are fettered, and they are cursed for what they said" (v., 69).—"*The Jews'* disbelief in God's signs, and their killing of the prophets undeservedly, and their saying, that *their* hearts are uncircumcised,—nay, (God) has stamped their unbelief on their *hearts*" (iv., 154).—"And thou wilt find the nearest in love to those who have believed to be those who say, 'We are Christians'; and among them there are priests and monks, and they will not be proud" (v., 85).—"There is nothing that is moist nor aught that is dry which is not known in this Book" (vi., 59).—"Even the weight of a grain of mustard does not escape from thy Lord, in heavens and in earth; and there is nothing, small or great, that is not known in this Book" (xxxiv., 3).—"And if thou art in doubt of that which we have brought down unto thee, ask those who read the Books before thee" (x., 94).

"A garden whose breadth is as the breadth of the heavens and the earth" (lvii., 21; iii., 127).—"In it are rivers of water without corruption, and rivers of milk the taste whereof has not changed, and rivers of wine delicious and pleasing to those who drink it, and rivers of honey clarified, and there they have of all fruits" (xlvii., 16-17).—"Eat and drink with pleasure for that which you have done; and reclining on couches, *that is to say 'takhthā,'*[5] which are put in rows; and

[1] See *Foreword*. [2] Lit. liver. [3] See *Foreword*.
[4] Here also spelt *'Isa* and not *Īshō'*.
[5] A Persian word in the Persian plural form meaning "couches."

we have wedded them to wives 'ḥur'ain'" (lii., 19-20).—"And we have abundantly sent them fruits and meat such as they like" (lii., 22).—"And round them shall go their boys who resemble beautiful pearls" (lii., 24).

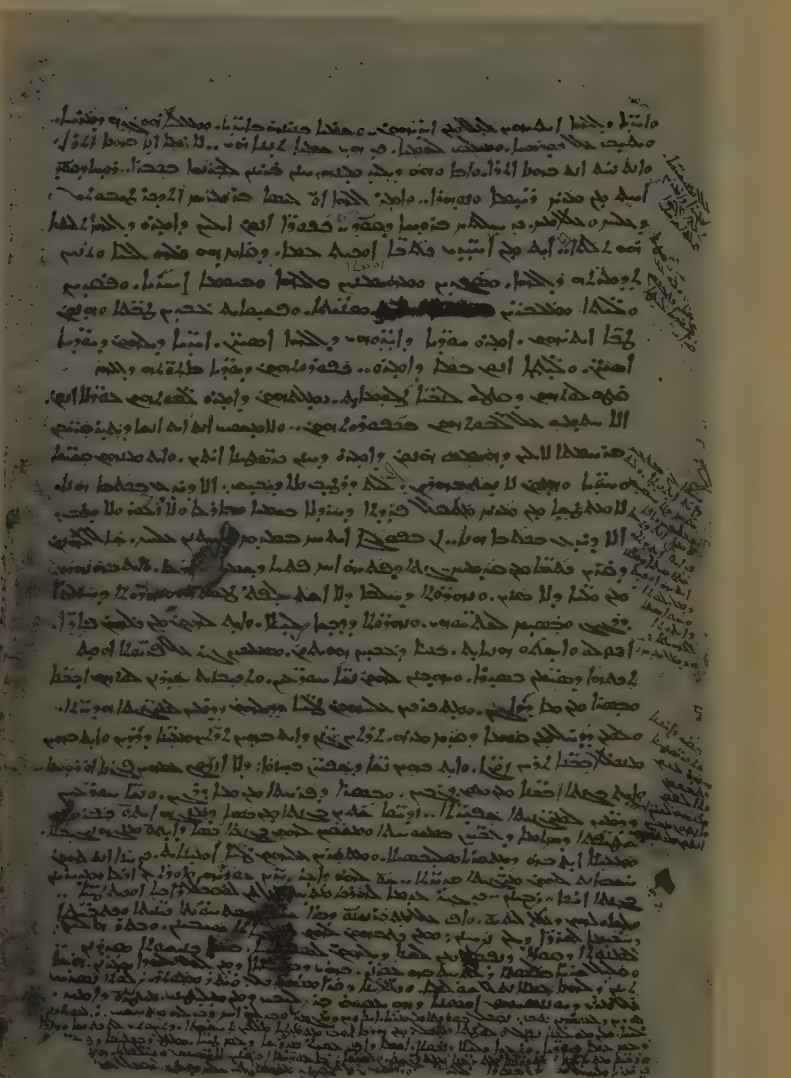
"And for him who fears the standing up before his Lord are gardens twain in which there are two flowing springs in which there are two pairs of every fruit" (lv., 46-52).—"In them are women beautiful in sight, whom no corporeal nor spiritual being has approached" (lv., 56).—*And there in the Garden:* "fruits such as they choose, and meat of fowl as they desire and women 'ḥur'ain' who resemble beautiful pearls" (lvi., 20-22).—"The righteous shall drink *in the Garden* of a cup the mixture of which is Kafru[1] (lxxvi., 5).—"And flagons of silver made with symmetry; and they shall be given to drink in the *Garden* a cup the mixture of which is Zangibla;[2] and there is in it a spring called Salibasīla;[3] and there shall go round them boys continually; and when thou seest them thou wilt think them scattered pearls" (lxxvi., 16-20).—"Praise be to the One who hath made good His promise to us, and hath given us the earth as inheritance; for we dwell in the Garden wherever we please" (xxxix., 74).

Our Dissertation against the Arabs, i.e. *Muslims, has extended as far as here. We have refuted their objection concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation of the Son, and by proofs taken from nature and from philosophical books we have demonstrated our truth; then we have confuted them in many points from their own book; after that we have arranged in one systematic division parts of the Ḳur'ān, which has been translated from their language into Syriac, and we have shortly refuted it in the column that is below it; because in the previous chapters we have given a detailed refutation. The time has now come to put an end to our labour. Let any one who reads and understands, profits and makes others profit, pray for Mar Dionysius the stranger, who is Jacob Barṣalibi of Milīṭini, Metropolitan of Amed.*

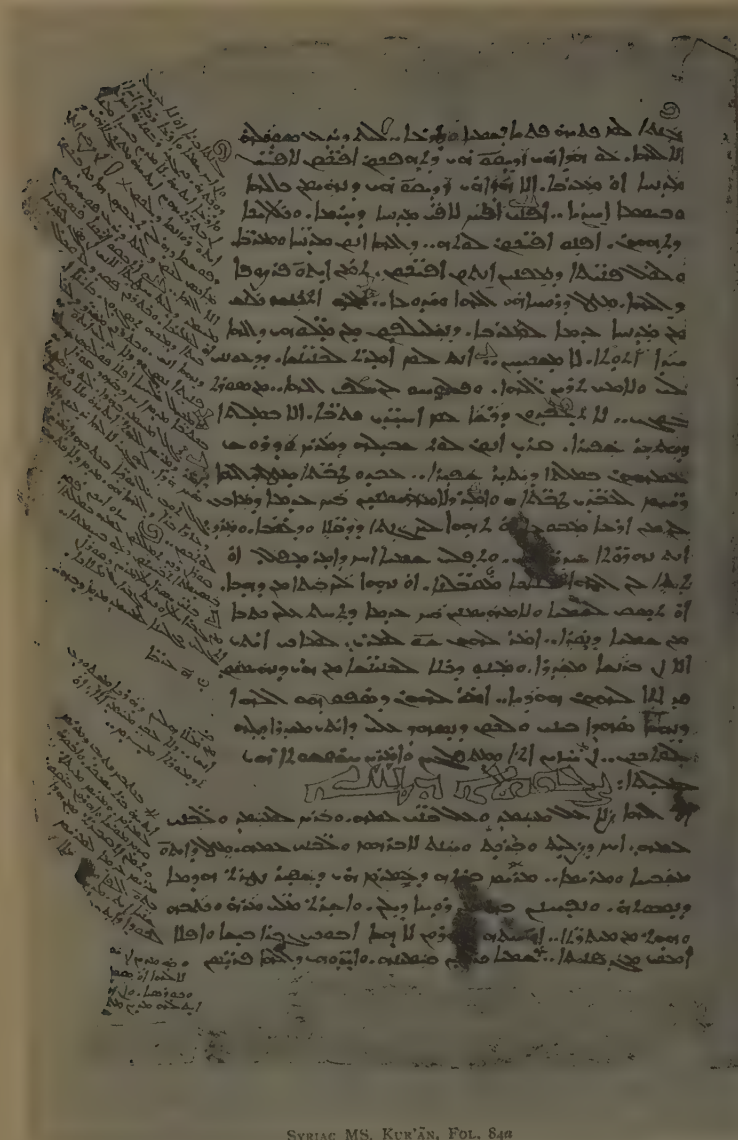
[1] The *Kāfūr* (Camphor) of our Ḳur'āns, the right meaning of which no one has ever understood. See Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, xxix., 128.

[2] The *Zanjabīl* of our Ḳur'āns, generally translated by "ginger."

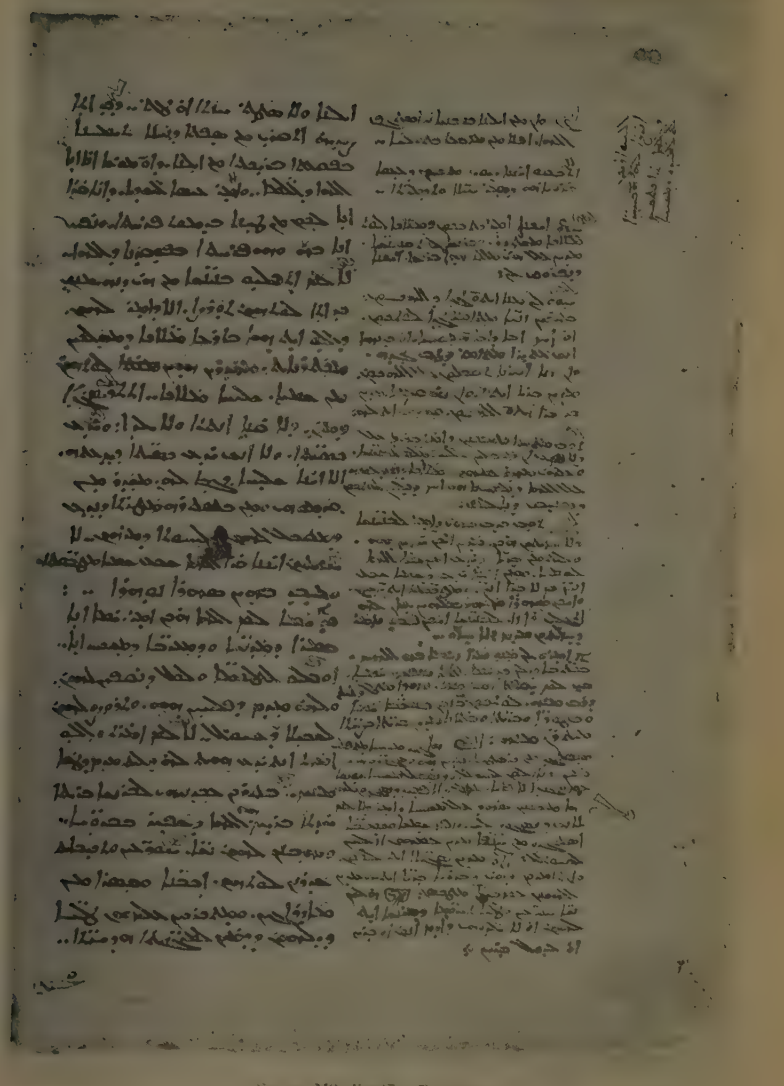
[3] The *Salsabīl* of our Ḳur'āns.



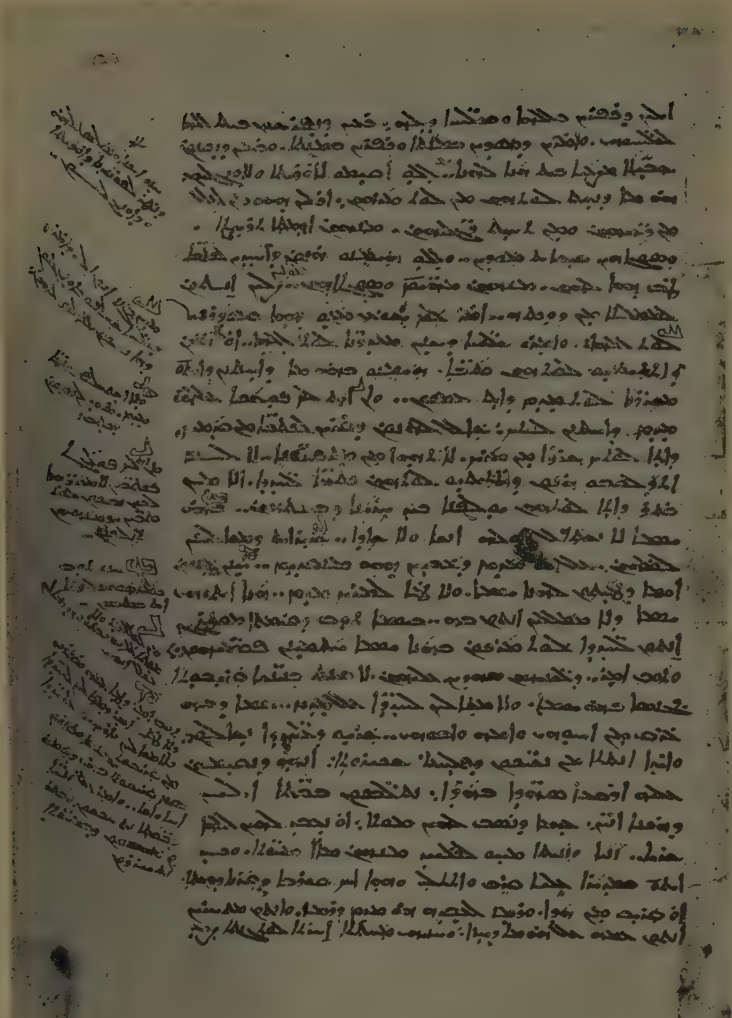
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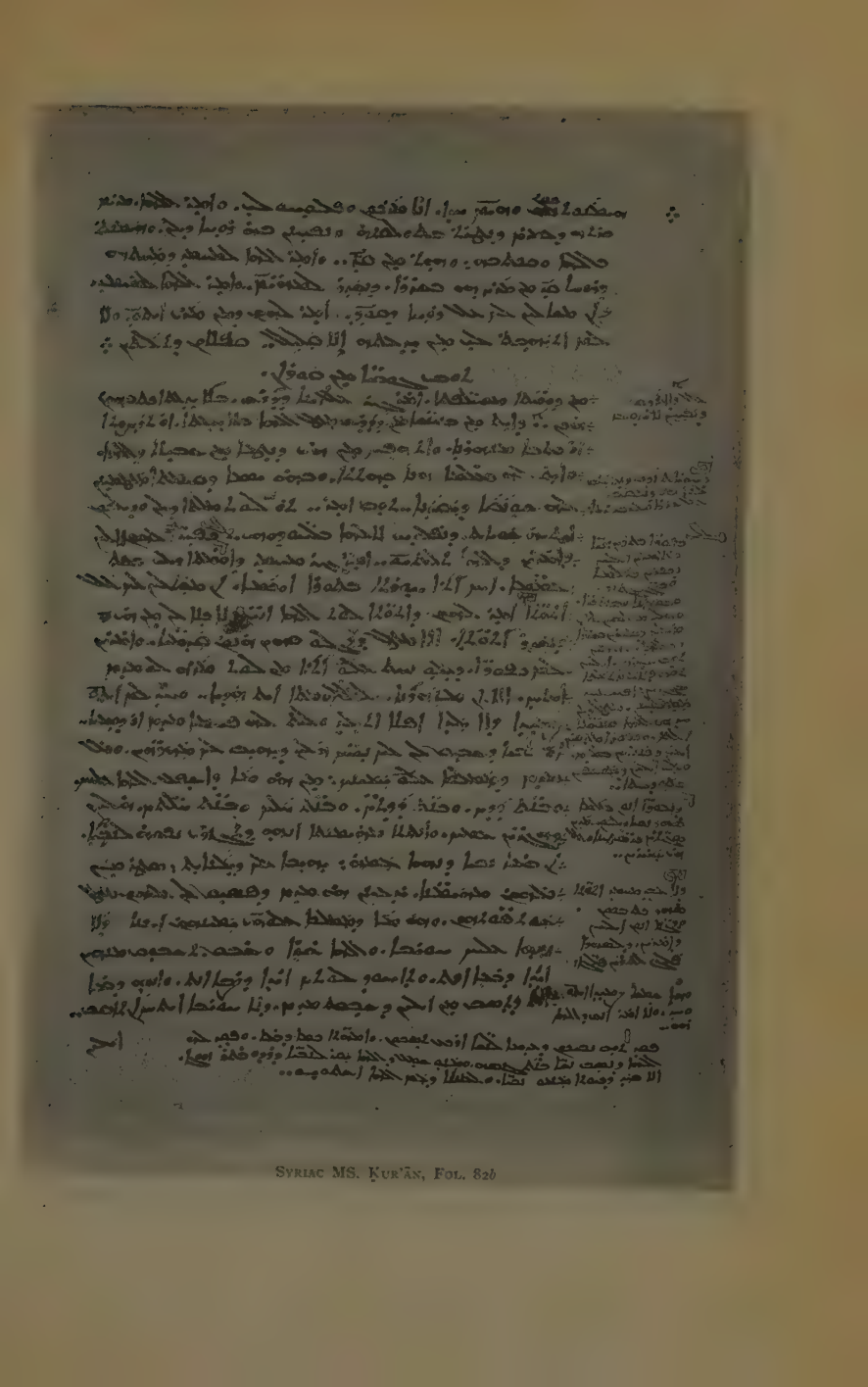
Syriac MS. Kur'ān, Fol. 84a



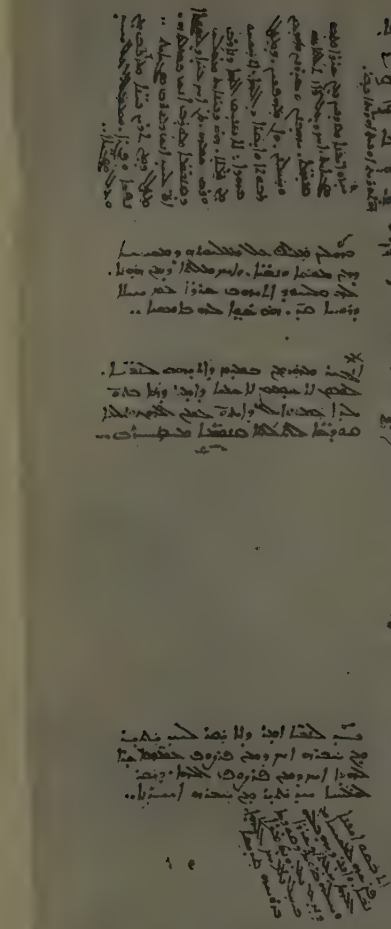
Syriac MS. Kur'ān, Fol. 83b



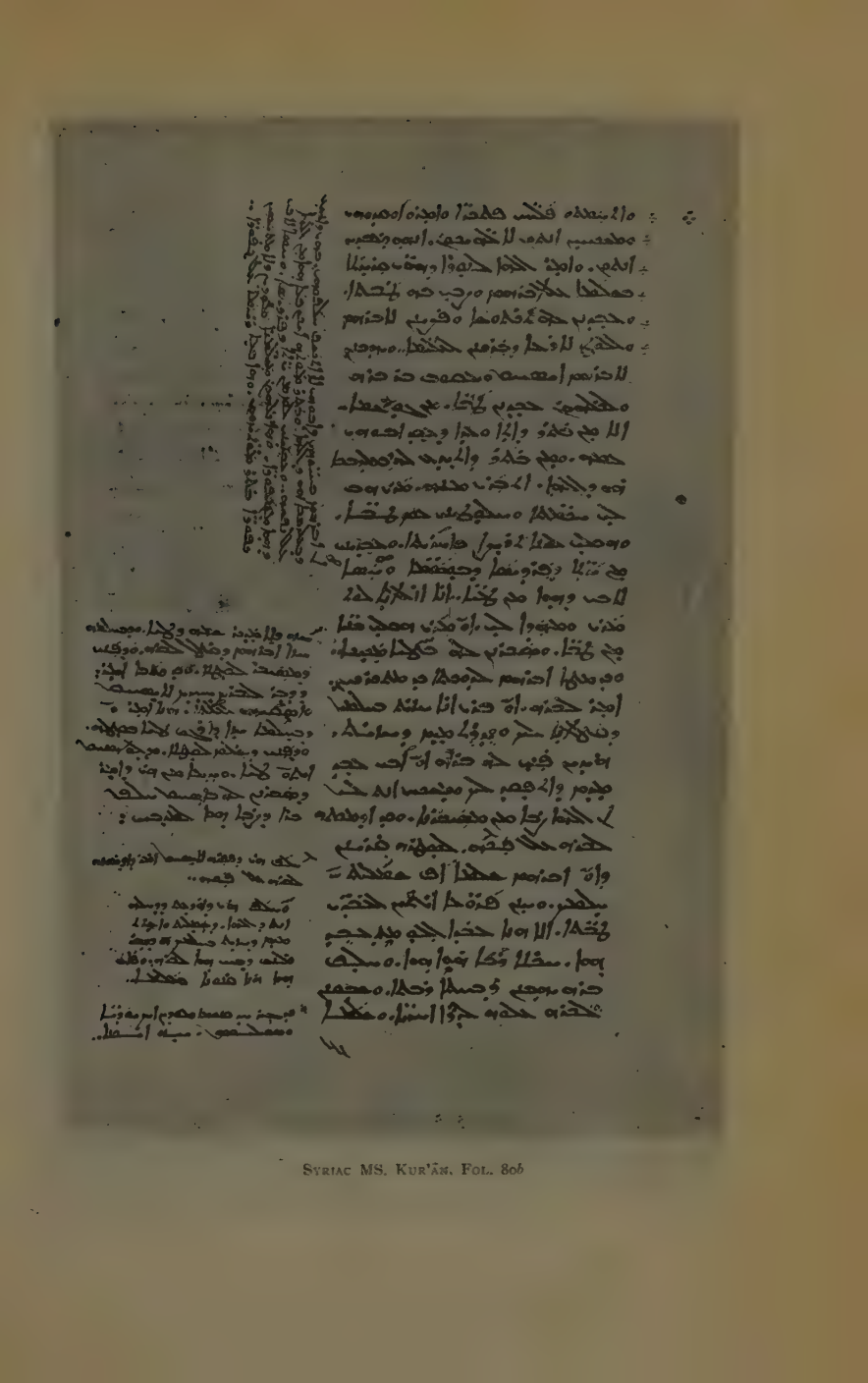
Syriac MS. Kur'ān, Fol. 83a



Syriac MS. Kur'ān, Fol. 82b

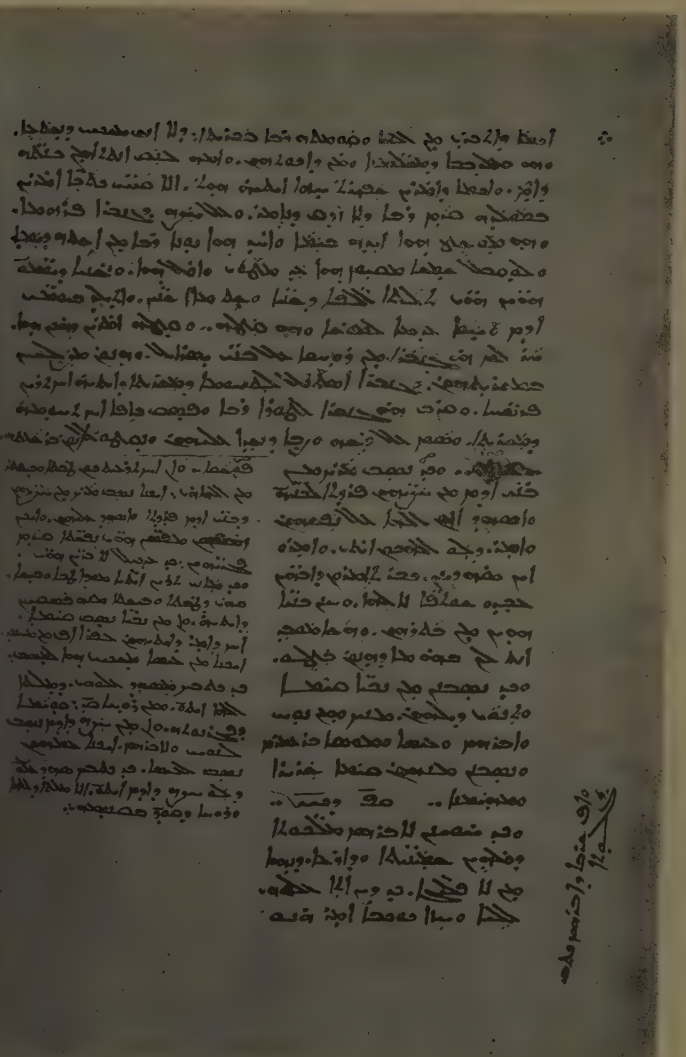


Syriac MS. Kur'ān, Fol. 81a



Syriac MS. Kur'ān. Fol. 80b

Syriac MS. Qur'ān, Fol. 80a

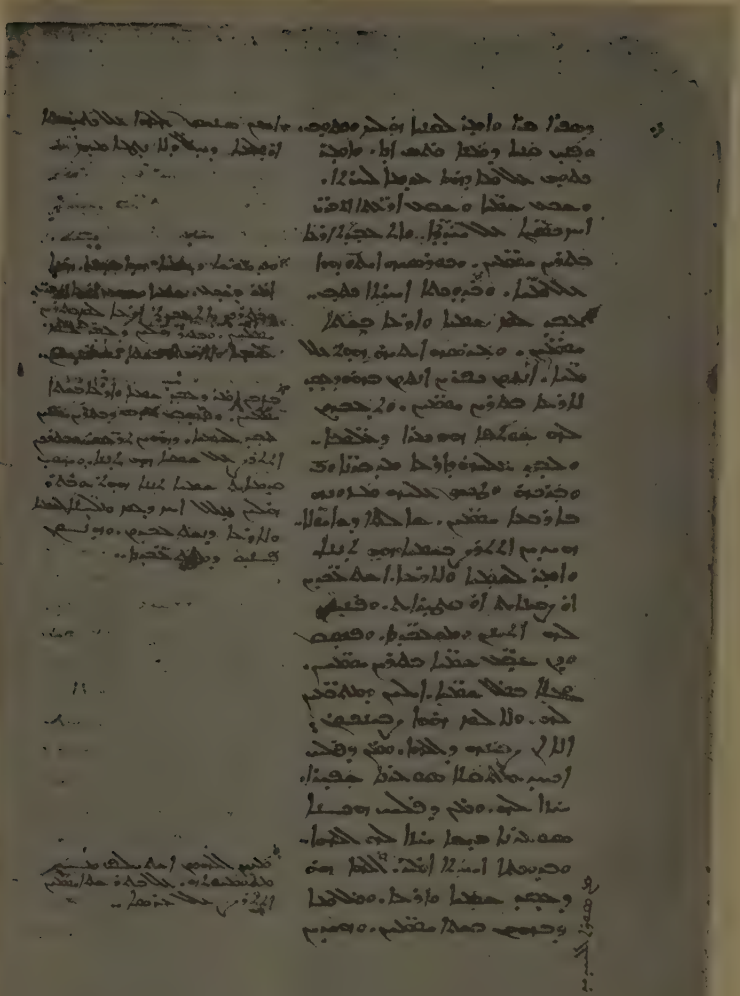


SYRIAC MS. KUR'ĀN, FOL. 79b

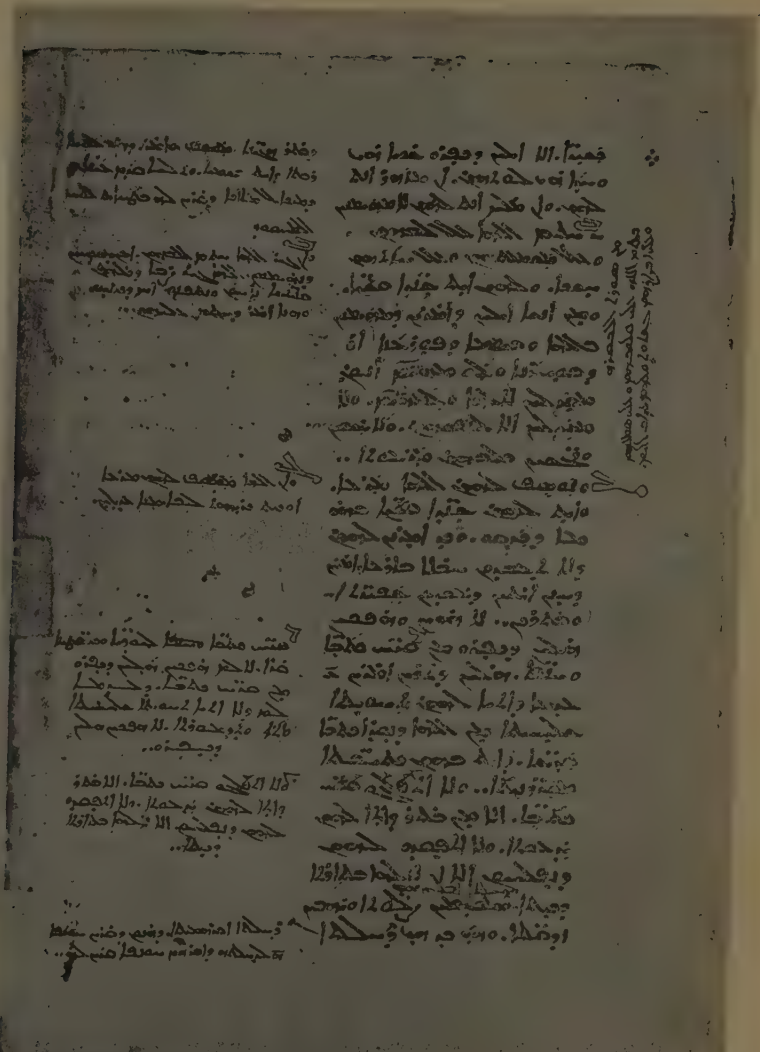
Syriac MS. Kur'ān, Fol. 79a

Syriac MS. Kur'ān, Fol. 78b

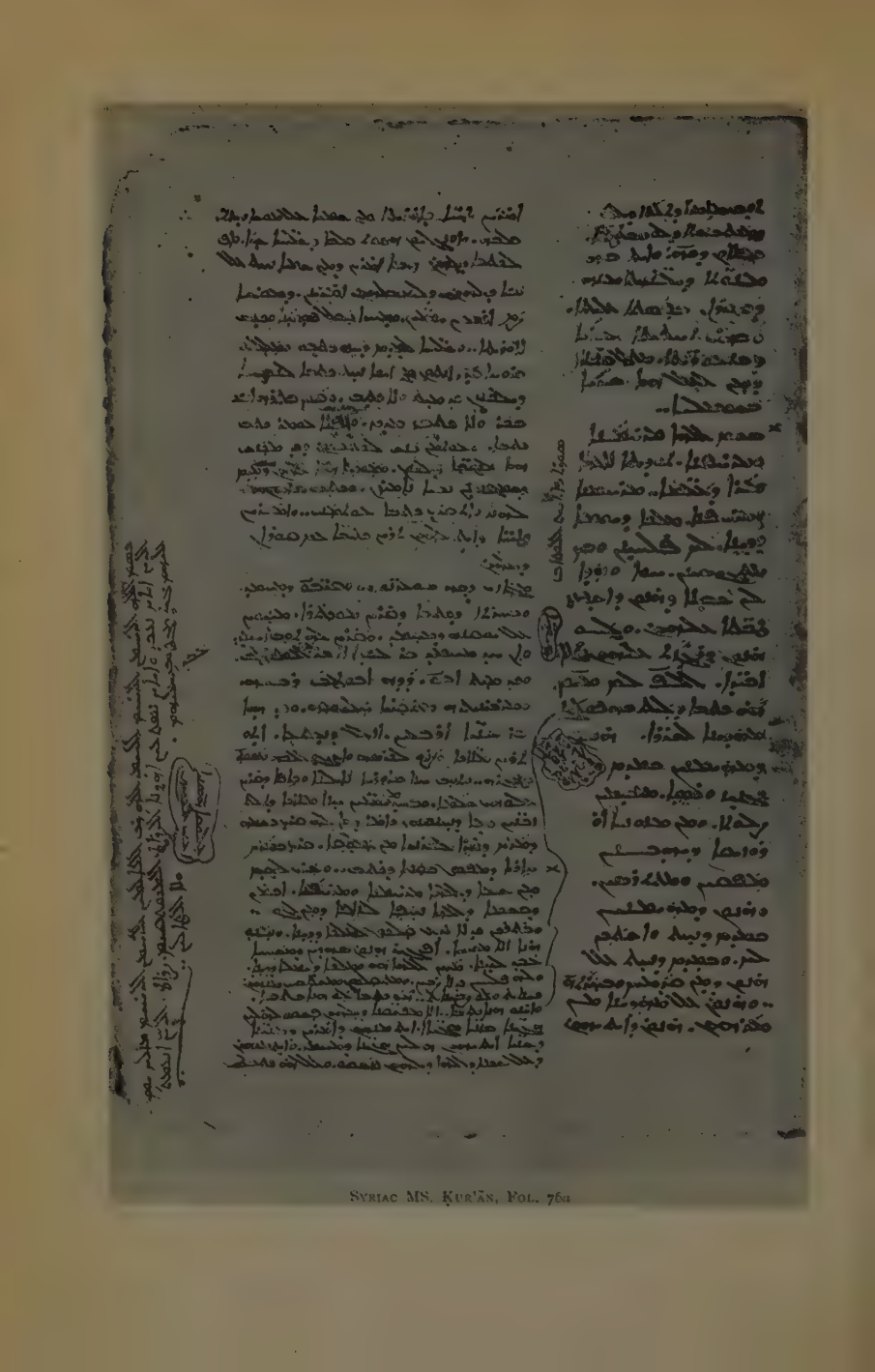
Syriac MS. Kur'ān, Fol. 78a



Syriac MS. Kur'ân, Fol. 77a



Syriac MS. Ḳur'ān, Fol. 76b



SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

While the above pages were in the press, the authorities of Harvard University—to whom I here take the liberty to tender my sincerest thanks—were so kind as to place at my disposal, through the intermediary of my friend Dr. Rendel Harris, a manuscript described as "Harvard University Semitic Museum N°. 4019," and containing all the controversial works of Barṣalībi mentioned by Baumstark in his *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur* (p. 297). This MS. formerly belonged to Dr. R. Harris in whose collection it was numbered 83. On fol. 47[b] we are informed that it was transcribed in Mardin, Saturday, 14th March, 1898, by the priest Gabriel, from a MS. dated 1813 of the Greeks (A.D. 1502) and written in the monastery of Mar Abel and Mar Abraham, near Midyād, in Ṭur 'Abdīn. So far as our present study is concerned we venture to make the following remarks :[1]

A

The Harvard MS. exhibits all the errors of the copyist of our MS. to which we have drawn attention (with the exception of the grammatical slip in Ḳur'ān iv., 9 and *imart* in xvii., 94), and we do not deem it useful to repeat them here, but we will tabulate the fresh mistakes into which the copyist of the Harvard MS. has fallen, and which the copyist of our MS. was shrewd enough to avoid :

(*a*) In Ḳur'ān i., 7 read ܥܠ for ܥܠܝ (fol. 48[a] and possibly also our MS. *primâ manu*). (*b*) In ii., 3 the letter *hé*, which stood in the original MS. as an abbreviation for ܗܘ has been wrongly read as the pronoun ܗܘ and erroneously added to the preceding word which has thus become ܕܠܐܗܘ (fol. 48[b]). (*c*) In xli., 10 read ܒܪܟ for ܒܪܟܐ (fol. 49[b]). (*d*) In xli., 10 read ܕܥܒܕ for ܕܥܒܕܝ (fol. 49[b]). (*e*) In xlii., 11 read ܥܠ for ܥܠܝ (fol. 49[b]). (*f*) In xxi., 56 read ܐ for ܐܝ (fol. 53[a]). (*g*) In xxi., 57 read ܕܟ for ܕܟܝ fol. 53[a]). (*h*) In xxi., 71 read ܐܒܪܗܡ for ܐܒܪܗ (fol. 53[a]). (*i*) In xxi., 72 read ܐ ܕܟ for ܐܟ

[1] We take the Syriac words that follow in the order in which they occur in the text. The references are to the Harvard MS.

(fol. 53b). (*j*) In iii., 43 read ܕܚܬܚ for ܕܚܬܚ (fol. 55a). (*k*) In x, 94 read ܠܚ for ܠ (fol. 56b). (*l*) In liii., 9 read ܡܕܚ for ܡܕܚ (fol. 57a). (*m*) In xxviii. 30 possibly read ܒܡܥ for ܡܥ (fol. 57a) and ܡܥ of our MS., but this may possibly be due to the fact that the Ḳur'ān might have read التيمن for الايمن. (*n*) In lxii., 12 read ܒܡܚ for ܒܡܚ (fol. 58b). (*o*) In lxxvi., 17 read ܠܡ for ܠ (fol. 59b).

B

On the other hand the Harvard MS. contains readings which tend to improve both the text and the translation of our MS. In the translation given above we have taken account of all these improvements for the benefit of the English reader. Two such readings are mentioned under A; the others are:

(*a*) In Ḳur'ān xx., 114 before the word *Zuhhāra* the particle ܠ (fol. 50b) is missing in our MS. (*b*) In xxxviii., 77 for ܐ (fol. 51a) our MS. reads erroneously ܒ. (*c*) In the traditional verse about Adam the Harvard MS. (fol. 51a) has ܒ for our ܒ. (*d*) In xxiii., 103 our MS. omits after *Lā* the verb ܗ (fol. 56b). (*e*) In iii., 43 the verb ܗ (fol. 57a) corrects our pronoun ܗ. (*f*) In xvii., 96 the copyist of our MS. has by homoioteleuton omitted after ܒ the following sentence:

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܫܠܚ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܫܪ ܘܐܡܪ

"(... said), Has God sent a man as His apostle? And he said" (*sic*) ... (fol. 57a.) The *wāw* before the verb *imar* seems to be erroneous.

C

Some other lexicographical and grammatical features worth mentioning are: (*a*) the word ܐܦܣܩ is used in Harvard (fol. 56b) concerning iii., 106, while our MS. has (apparently by a later hand) ܐܠ The first reading seems to be a wrong transliteration of the

Arabic الفاسقون which has been rendered into *'awālīn* (the reading of our MS.) by an owner or a copyist, and possibly not by the first translator himself, unless the word were to be ܩܨܨܐ "the cut off, or rejected ones." (*b*) In iv., 19 Harvard has ܒܨܨܡܐ (fol. 57ᵃ) and our MS. ܒܨܨܡܐ. (*c*) Both MSS. have the erroneous readings ܣܓܕܗ for ܣܓܕܐ in xvii., 93, and ܬܚܕܐ (fol. 58ᵇ) for ܬܚܒܐ in xc., 4.

D

The Garshūni words and phrases taken from the text of the Ḳur'ān and written mostly on the margins of our MS. are absent in the Harvard copy. This bears out the opinion that we expressed concerning their origin: that they were due to some owners or late copyists.

E

The first half of the story of 'Aus or 'Auj b. A'nak is in the Harvard MS. also (fol. 52ᵃ) written in the first column, and the second half in the second column. Evidently the blunder goes back to a very early MS., and it is even possible that it is due to Barṣalībi himself, who discovered it in time and promptly corrected it. What seems to render this view possible is the fact that both MSS. break the sentence with the same word, and that the heading: "Ḳur'ān" is written in both of them in the body of the text immediately after the part of the story told in the first column, in order to show that it is not to be taken as Ḳur'ānic. The story forms a part of the didactic side of the work of Barṣalībi, like the first long note found in the second column of the first page. See Facsimile.

F

Leaves 4ᵇ-6ᵃ of the Harvard MS. contain an Index of the contents of all three discourses of Barṣalībi against the Muslims. On fol. 5ᵇ the third discourse is introduced in this Index as follows: "Third discourse against the Muslims, containing various parts of the Ḳur'ān in the first column, with their refutation in the second column." Our MS. is deficient here, and some leaves have disappeared from it which probably contained this Index with the above statement.

REMARKS ON ṬABARI'S SEMI-OFFICIAL DEFENCE OF ISLAM.

BY A. MINGANA, D.D.

DR. WENSINCK of Leiden has in the introduction to his translation of Barhebraeus' *Book of the Dove* and elsewhere drawn our attention to the bold plagiarism practised by the Eastern writers of the Lower Middle Ages, and illustrated his point by the sad spectacle of the great and prolific Jacobite writer himself swelling the rank of plagiarists. The epidemic seems to have affected Christians and Muslims alike. The case of the latter may be illustrated by a striking example.

In 1922-1923 I edited 'Ali b. Rabban aṭ-Ṭabari's *Book of Religion and Empire*, a kind of a semi-official Defence of Islam written by order, at the Court, and with the assistance of the 'Abbasid Caliph Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-861). If one peruses the articles of the late Professor Goldziher and others : *über Muhammed. Polemik gegen ahl al-Kitāb*,[1] one cannot fail to notice that the Muslim writers cited on pages 374-379 are using the Biblical texts collected and translated by 'Ali Ṭabari centuries earlier, apparently without so much as mentioning the latter's name—at least in the passages quoted by Goldziher, which are my only authority.—The question arises whether these Muslim writers are plagiarising Ṭabari, or *vice versâ*. That the first alternative is the only possible one is borne out by many external and internal evidences, the chief among which are :

1°. Both Shihāb ad-Din as-Ṣanhāji and Ibn Ḳayim al-Jawzīyah referred to by Goldziher were not even born at the time when the

[1] In Z D M G, vol. xxxii., 1878, pp. 341-395, I referred to this article on p. 131 of my edition, but I had not then the intention of pushing the matter further.

MS. containing the Defence of 'Ali Ṭabari (which we have edited and translated) was written. Ṣanhāji died in A.H. 684, Ibn Ḳayim in A.H. 751, and the MS. containing the Defence is dated A.H. 616.[1]

2°. The Biblical quotations found in the two writings are certainly a translation from the Syriac Peshiṭta, and often contain a play on the Syriac root *Shabaḥ*, rendered into the Arabic root *Ḥamad*, from which the name "Muḥammad" is derived. Now neither Ṣanhāji nor Ibn Ḳayim nor, in this respect, any other late Muslim knew any Syriac at all; the Biblical work, therefore, that they contain is without doubt that of 'Ali Ṭabari, the ex-Nestorian Doctor, and the official controversialist of the Court of the Caliph.

[1] We may here state that the MS. 631 of the Crawford collection of the John Rylands Library, containing Ibn Rabban's Defence of Islam, is absolutely genuine and authentic in every respect. This authenticity is beyond the shadow of a doubt, and we consider it to be so unquestionable that we venture the deliberate opinion that it will never be successfully assailed, nor reasonably impugned. This assertion for which we take full responsibility, should allay the unfounded fears of anyone, who, by reason of long distance, finds himself unable to examine the MS. We are unfortunately in no position to ascertain how and when the MS. was acquired by the late Lord Crawford, but from the number of MSS. acquired after it, we may suggest that it came into his possession in about A.D. 1840, and from the word "Egypt" found on the first leaf one is tempted to believe that its last Eastern owner lived in the country of the Nile.

A distinctive mark of the work itself is that it is an unmistakable reflection of the personality of its author, and a true mirror of the complex and pregnant events of the period in which he lived: an ex-Nestorian Doctor from Ṭabaristan trying to justify before the eyes of his old and new co-religionists his change of religious allegiance and the confidence placed upon him by the greatest Sunni Caliph, who had urged him to vindicate the religion of Islam by methods which would carry conviction with the Christian scholars of his day, and to prove, mainly from the Books of his old faith the sacred language of which he understood perfectly, the apostleship and the prophetship of Muḥammad. The connection between the mirror and the personality of the author is so intimate that if we endeavour to break the former we run the great risk of destroying the latter. The work is thus one of the most authentic that the Arab and Syrian world has ever seen; and any attempts to throw doubt on its genuineness will *certainly* be based on inexactitudes and will *certainly* also be foredoomed to failure. The Apology, like any other book, may have difficulties (and possibly also slight inexactitudes) which we should try to understand and explain, but not in connection with the question of its authenticity, which is absolutely incontestable.

We will now give a few examples from both texts :

Tabari.	*Goldziher.*
(1)	(1)
Isa. xlix. 5.	Isa. xlix. 5.
وصرت محمدا عند الرب وبالهي حولي وقوتي (p. 90)	وصرت محمدا عند الرب وبالهي حولي وقوتي (p. 377)
(2)	(2)
Isa. xxxv. 2.	Isa. xxxv. 2.
لانها ستعطى باحمد محاسن لبنان (p. 85)	فانها تعطى باحمد محاسن لبنان (p. 378)
(3)	(3)
Isa. lxiii. 14-15.	Isa. lxiii. 14-15.
انى جعلت اسمك محمدا ... يا محمد يا قدوس ... اسمك موجود منذ الابد (p. 100)	انى جعلت اسمك محمدا يا محمد يا قدوس الربه اسمك موجود من الابد (p. 378)
(4)	(4)
Isa. xli. 16.	Isa. xli. 16
وتبتهج انت [حينئذ] وترتاح [بالرب] وتكون محمدا (p. 89)	وانت تبتهج وترتاح وتصير محمدا (p. 378)
(5)	(5)
Ps. xlviii. 2.	Ps. xlviii. 2.
ان ربنا عظيم محمود [جدا] وفى قرية الهنا ... قدوس (p. 75)	ان ربنا عظيم محمود وفى قرية الهنا قدوس (p. 377)
(6)	(6)
Genes. xxi. 13.	Genes. xxi. 13.
اني جاعل ... لامة عظيمة لانه من زرعك (p. 68)	اني جاعل [ابنك اسمعيل] لامة عظيمة لانه من زرعك (p. 376)

The examples could be multiplied, but we will here be satisfied with two more : both works call Hagar's progeniture ولد المشغولة and ولد الفارغة pp. 377 and 91 respectively), and both harp on the argu-

ment taken from *Meshabbḥa* (*Muṣabbaḥ*—wrongly written in Goldziher: *Mushaffaḥ* and equivalent to "Muḥammad" = the glorified, the praised one) and *Shubḥa* (wrongly written in Goldziher: *Shufḥā*) *l'alāha* equivalent to "praise be to God" (pp. 375 and 112 respectively), which could have emanated only from Ṭabari.

It is not only the phraseology of the texts in both works that is identical, but also their selection and choice. There are a few more quotations in Goldziher's text which are not found in our Defence, but I feel confident that they were taken by these late Muslim writers from the other two controversial books (now lost) of Ṭabari to which he himself refers in his Defence on pages 100-101 and 107 of our translation. Cf. also page xiv of our Introduction.

The Biblical texts collected with so much care by Ṭabari were also known and referred to by writers much more ancient than those mentioned by Goldziher. Nīsābūri quotes in his *Gharāib al-Ḳur'ān* (i., 270 edit. Cairo), Genesis xvi., 8-13, in connection with Ḳur. ii., 38. More than two-thirds of the quotation are in an abbreviated form, the keywords of which are certainly those employed in our Apology;[1] but the end of the quotation is given in full and is word for word identical with Ibn Rabban's Arabic translation from Syriac, and is undoubtedly taken from it:[2] *watakūnu yaduhu fauḳa al-jamī'i, wa yadu al-jamī'i mabsuṭatan ilaihi.*

This borrowing from the Apology does not extend only to phraseology but also to the number of the chapter of Genesis which is counted by Ṭabari as the ninth. Nīsābūri could not have got this peculiar number except from Ibn Rabban's work. Further, the conclusions that Nīsābūri draws from this quotation for the benefit of Islam and the Arab race are in the letter and in the spirit absolutely identical with those drawn by the Apology,[3] and are in addition introduced by him by *Ḳīla*, "it has been said." In vol. ii., page 335, Nīsābūri is also giving an almost full abstract of the Apology as a proof of the divine mission of the Prophet.

Ṣanhāji's and Nīsābūri's quotations should be considered as decisive in favour of the point at issue.

[1] Page 67 of our edition.

[2] *'Aiban* in the text of the Cairo edition of Nīsābūri (*ibid.*) is certainly a mistake for *'Airan.*

[3] Page 70.

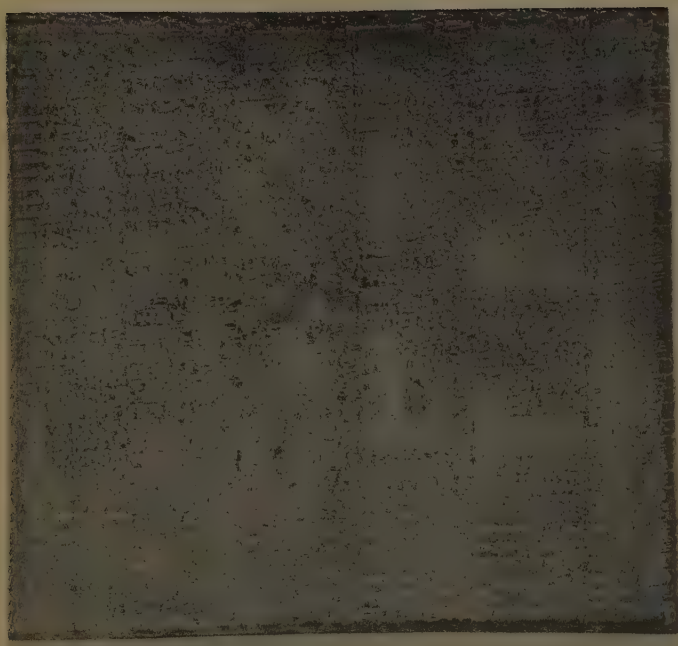
The other point to which we wish to call attention is the phrase which deals with the extension of the spoken Persian language (p. 105 of the text and p. 122 of the translation) : ولا تجاوزت الفارسية مدينة ايران شهر "Nor did the Persian language go beyond *the city of* Irān Shahr." The word *madīnat*, "the city of," is really written by a later hand between the lines of the text, and is not a part of the copyist's exemplar. This later hand is possibly that of a reader, or possibly also that of Mūsa al-Maulawi mentioned in our introduction (p. xvii).

At the time of the publication of the work I was puzzled a great deal as to what was to be done with this word *madīnat*. On the one hand I was aware of the fact that "Irān Shahr" alone meant either the city of Irān Shahr (generally called Naysābūr) in Khurāsān, or more probably "the country of Persia" (as Persia is sometimes called by Oriental writers ;[1] on the other hand the Maulawi having proved useful to me in a few necessary words which he (or possibly another reader) had supplied apparently from another MS.,[2] I decided to follow him here also, and I did not mention the fact in a footnote, in order not to multiply footnotes without great necessity. But now I realise that it would have been better not to have inserted in the text the word *madīnat*, which is probably an unwarranted addition or an erroneous gloss by an owner. The right interpretation of the above sentence is therefore : "Nor did the Persian language go beyond Irān Shahr," i.e. "the country of the Persians," understood generally to extend from Jaiḥūn to Ḳādisīyah (Yaḳūt as quoted in our note in *loc. cit.*).

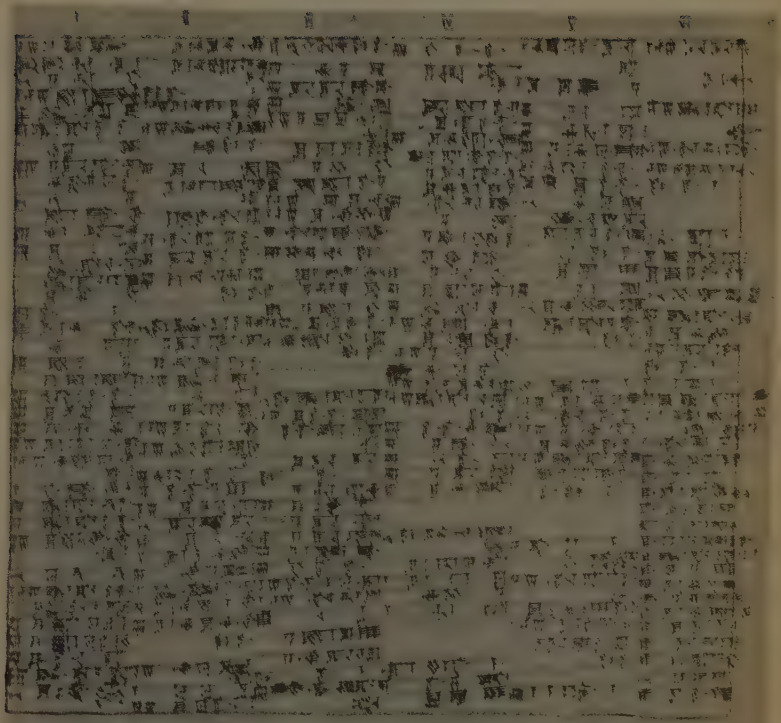
Finally on pages 147-148, and 152 of the translation the author mentions by name his uncle Yaḥya b. Nu'mān. Exception has been taken to this name in some quarters on the ground that the man was otherwise unknown. In reply to this we may state that such a man is mentioned by Bīrūni (*Āthār*, pages 191 of the translation and 208 of the text edit. Sachau), whose statement is as follows : "According to Yaḥya ibn al-Nu'mān the Christian, in his book on the Magians, Māni was called by the Christians *Corbicious the son of Patecius*." There can hardly be any reasonable doubt that this Yaḥya was the uncle of our Ṭabari ; this is also the independent opinion of my friend Professor Margoliouth of Oxford.

[1] Cf. Marquart's *Eranshahr*, which I quoted as early as 1908 in the first volume of my *Sources Syriaques*, p. 107.

[2] Cf. the margin of the first page of the MS.

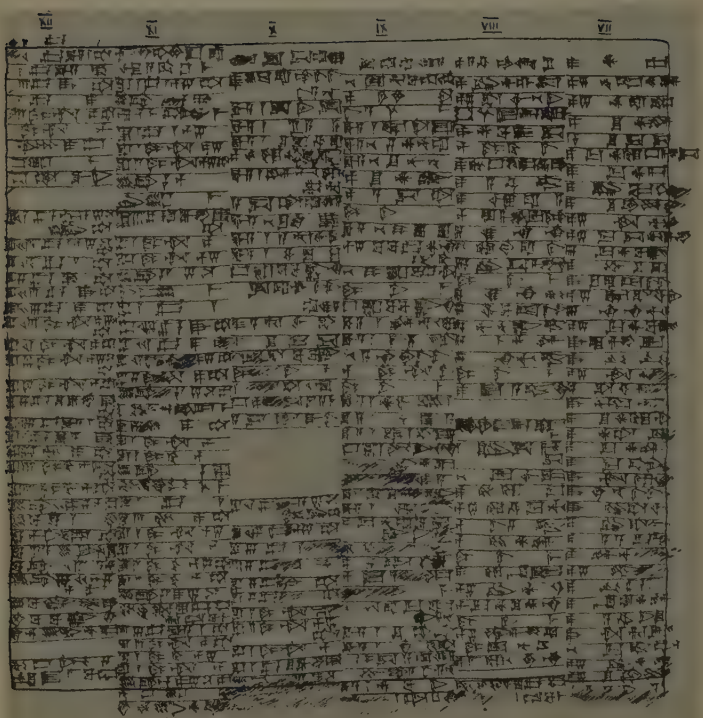


1.—Facsimile of a Sumerian Wage-list of the Ur Dynasty (circa 2450 B.C.)
Obverse



Copy of a Sumerian Wedge-list of the Ur Dynasty (circa 2400 B.C.)

Obverse



3.—Copy of a Sumerian Wage-list of the Ur Dynasty (*circa* 2350 B.C.)

Reverse

A SUMERIAN WAGE-LIST OF THE UR DYNASTY.

By THE REV. T. FISH.

THE accompanying plates give the Obverse, and my copy of both sides, of the largest and most interesting of the Sumerian Administration tablets in the John Rylands Library. It is $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 7 ins. × $\frac{5}{6}$ ins. (190 × 178 × 21 mm.), and has 12 columns. Col. XII., 28*f* summarises the tablet. It is the year's wage-list. 24 + $\frac{4}{6}$ + $\frac{1}{360}$ gur, the amount of barley paid monthly (še-ba-itu-l-kam) from the month itu maš-dū-kú to the month itu dirig-še-kin-kud, i.e. thirteen months (itu-bi 13 ám); this barley (še-bi) totals 300 + 20 + 2 + $\frac{4}{6}$ + $\frac{1}{360}$ gur, i.e. $322\frac{5}{6}$ gur. In Ba-ba-az^{ki}. Third year of Bur-Sın (*circa* 2350 B.C.).

Cols. I.-X. give the names of those with whom the tablet is concerned.

A-a-kal-la	VII., 31.	* Ama-nu-tuk	VIII., 35.
Ab-ba-šá(g)-ga	VI., 23.	A-na-aḫ-i-li	IX., 18.
A-bí-ṭab	III., 14; IV., 11.	A-na-da-ḫúl	III., 33.
		* An-a-zu	III., 2.
* A-bí-e-lum	III., 32.	* An-ba-la	V., 8.
A-bí-li-ā	III., 8; IV., 3.	An-ba-ni	IV., 9; IX., 39.
A-bu-tab	III., 7.	* An-bu-a	IV., 31.
^{d}Adad-ba-ni	I., 9.	* An-Pl. Bi(L)	IX., 21.
A-da-làl	I., 8.	An-sukkal	IV., 16.
* Ad-da-gu-la	V., 10.	* An-šá(g)-ga	VI., 18.
* Á-dū(?ni)-á	X., 3.	* An-ta-lu	VII., 24.
A-gu-a	VI., 9.	* An-zu-ba-ni-da-ra	V., 1.
* Á-ḫa-am-ar-si	VIII., 1.	* Á-ra-ag-i-li	X., 13.
A-ḫa-ni-šu	VII., 36.	Arad^{d} . . .	VII., 20.
A-ḫa-tùm	VIII., 8.	Arad-dam	VII., 27.
A-ḫu-ṭab	I., 3; IV., 18.	Arad-i-li	V., 19.
A-ḫu-pi-kar	III., 13.	Arad-mu	VII., 10.
A-ḫu-we-ir	X., 10, 14.	Ar-ši-iḫ	IX., 28.
* Á-ḫu-um-ilu	III., 23.	Awel-ša-lim	I., 14; IV., 15; VII., 29.
* Al-la-di-mu	VI., 20.		
* Al-la-ni-zu	V., 30.		

* A-zi-zi	VI., 27.
* A-zu-zu-nu-um	III., 5.
* Ba-aḫ-šum	IV., 12.
* Ba-a-lum	VI., 25.
Ba-ba-a	II., 32.
* Ba-ba-dan-an-na-ad	IX., 12, N-sal. IX., 13, N-nita.
* Ba-ḫa-ḫa	I., 31.
Ba-la-a	VI., 32.
Bá-ša-a-bi	V., 15.
* Bá-ša-ab-ú	I., 15.
* Bá-ša-ba-ba-az	VI., 2; X., 16.
Bá-ša-bi-ú	V., 22; VI., 16.
Bá-ša-é-a	IX., 5, 23.
Bá-ša-ḫa-ni	I., 28.
Bá-ša-ì-li	I., 6. 29. 32.
Bá-ša-iš-dar	VI., 11; X., 18 (?)
Bá-ša-ma-ma	III., 19.
* Bá-ša-ù	IV., 21.
* Bá-ša-ù-gur	VI., 24.
* Bá-ša-we-ir	VII., 15.
dBa-ú-da	VIII., 5.
* Be-lí-ma	IV., 24.
Bi-sa-aḫ-an	I., 4.
* Bí-GA-Ki	I., 11.
* Bi(l)-za	I., 20.
Bu-ga-a	IX., 38.
* Bu-ga-ar	V., 26.
* Bu-ḫa-ti	III., 12.
Bur-ma-ma	VI., 8.
* Bu-ṣum-še-en	VI., 10.
* Bu-šu-šu	VII., 13.
Da-ad(?)-da	III., 24.
Da-da	X., 1.
Da-da-ḫa-ma-ti	VI., 1.
* Da-da-ga-bi	III., 3.
Da-da-ni	II., 10.
Di-kud-i-li	VII., 28.
Dingir-ra-NE	VII., 3.
Dingir-ri-ka	V., 4.
* Dirig-a	X., 4.
Diš-bar	III., 31; V., 11.
Du(g)-ga-mu	I., 27.
Du-šu-mu-um	IV., 20.
É-a-[bi(l)?]-bi(l)	IX., 32.
* É-a-tùm-ki	VIII., 21.
En-um dAdad	VII., 35.
En-um-ì-li	III., 15; IV., 4.
* Gar-ša(g)-te	IX., 3.
* Gím dAdad	VIII., 29.
Gimil dAdad	V., 21; VI., 12; VII., 4.
* Gimil dBabbar	I., 16.
* Gimil dGír	IX., 8.
Gimil dEn-lil	I., 23.
* Gimil dGà (?)	IV., 8.
* Gimil dNidaba	IV., 26; IX., 27.
* Gimil dNin-mug	VII., 23.
Gimil dNin-šubur	IV., 5.
Gimil dSiru	V., 14.
Gimil-ì-li	V., 7.
* Gimil-ì-li-su	III., 19.
Gimil-ir-ra	I., 36.
Gimil-iš-tar	I., 13; II., 6, 25; IV., 17.
Gimil-ma-ma	III., 6; VI., 29
* Gím-nin-gà	VIII., 26.
* Gul-ṣum	I., 7.
* Ḫu-du	IV., 32.
I-ba-ni-iz	II., 33.
* I-bi(l)-bi(l)-a	I., 21.
Ib-ni dAdad	II., 26.
* Íb-ši-ka	VIII., 25.
* I-da-a	IX., 37.
* I-dur (?)-an	III., 24.
* Ík-mu-lum	V., 28.
* Ì-li-a-lum	II., 22.
Ì-li-an-dúl	IV., 22.
Ì-li-tab-ba	III., 29.
* Ì-li-tu-gul-ti	III., 20
Im-ti . . .	VII., 32.
Im-ti-dam	IX., 16.
Ím-ti-dam-taḫ-ḫu	X., 7.
Ìr-ra-ba-ni	II., 9; V., 28.
* Ìr-ra-ga-še-ir	III., 11.
Ìr-ra-ur-sag	IX., 34.
I-ri-ib	II., 15.

Ìr-ri-ib	III., 30, VI., 17.
Ìr-ri-ib 2	VII., 37.
Ìr-ri-šum	IV., 9, VI., 3, 30.
* I-sar-a-hi	VI., 31.
I-sar-ba-dan	I., 34; IV., 14 IX., 13.
I-sar-ba-dan 2,	I., 35.
* I-ti-a-ḫu-um	II., 11.
* I-ti-an	I., 24.
* I-zu-zu	IX., 11.
dKal	II., 17; VII., 1.
* Ki-li	IX., 36.
* Ku-li-sum	VI., 33.
* Ku-sá-lum	X., 9.
Ku-ra-ad-ì-lí	VII., 14.
* Ku-ru-ub-ìr-ra	II., 8.
La-gi-ib	III., 12; VII., 18; VIII., 10.
* Lim-ma-ad-ì-li	VIII., 16.
Lù-bal-šá(g)ga	II., 5; IV., 28.
Lù dAdad	VII., 39.
Lù dBabbar	VIII., 32.
Lù dEn-zu	I., 5.
Lù dMar-tu	VIII., 2.
Lugal-à-zi(d)-da	VIII., 24.
* Lugal-ga-ni-gi	II., 13.
* Lugal-ka-du(g)	VII., 8.
Lugal me-lam	II., 16.
* Lugal-zag-gi-si	I., 37.
* Lù-gu-la	I., 33.
* Lù-ib	III., 4.
* Lù-pa(d)-da	V., 9.
* Lù-šá(g)-ni-zu	II., 28.
* Lù-uš-gi-na	VIII., 13.
Lul . . .	VII., 33.
* Lul-zi-la	VIII., 35.
* Ma-da-mu-gi	VII., 11.
* Ma-ni	V., 29.
* Ma-nu-um-e-mu-uk	IX., 29.
Ma-šum	VII., 26.
Me dAdad	VIII., 18.
* Me-dam-ki-na	VIII., 36.
* Mi-na-na	VIII., 11.
* Mi-na-mu	VIII., 15.
* Mu-tùm-an	I., 12.
Na-ba-šá(g)	II., 27, 31.
* Na-na-ti-a	VII., 16.
* Na-ti-ib	VIII., 19.
dNidaba-an-dúl	IX., 25; X., 41; XII., 36.
* Nin-en-šá(g)	VIII., 31.
* dNin-gir-su-ka	X., 6.
Nin-ḫa-ma-ti	VI., 4; VIII., 27.
* Nin-ḫar-ra-ni	VIII., 12.
Nin-mar-ki-ka	I., 26.
* Ni-za-li	IV., 35.
* Ni-za-tùm	VIII., 28.
* Nu-nu-uk (?)-tùm	VIII., 17.
dNusku	I., 19.
* Nu-ú-a	IX., 22.
Nu-úḫ-AN	III., 1.
Nu-ùr-i-li	I., 22.
Nu-ùrd . . .	VII., 22.
Nu-ùr dAdad	VII., 2.
* Nu-za	I., 10.
Pi . . .?	X., 11.
Ša-lim-be-li	VIII., 3.
* Ša-lim-g[a] . . .	VII., 21.
Še-li-bu-um	III., 16.
Šeš-kal-la	II., 20; VI., 21, VII., 34.
Šeš-kal-la 2	VI., 22.
Šeš-šeš . . .	VII., 19.
Šu-?-?	IX., 35.
Šu-a-bu	II., 23.
Šu-da-da	III., 21; VII., 5; X., 15.
* Šu-dam-ki-na	I., 30, cf. Gimil dDam-Ki-na. S.A. 3.
* Šu-dur-ul	I., 38; VII., 9, 40.
* Šu-iš-ḫa-ra	X., 5.
* Šu-la-lum	V., 12.
* Šu-na-bu-um	III., 10.
Šu-nu-mu	IX., 7.

Ṭab-i-li	III., 28; IV., 1.	Urᵈ Ne-gún	VI., 28.
Ṭu-ra-am-i-li	IV., 6; V., 23; X., 2.	Urᵈ Nin-giš-zi(d)-da	II., 2; VII., 6.
		Úr-ri-ba-ab-ul	IX., 2.
* Ù-ra-a	VIII., 9.	Ur-šá(g)-ga	III., 27.
* Ur-ab-ba	I., 25; IV., 29.	Urᵈ Si-an-na	II., 1, 30; VIII., 33.
Ur ᵈAdad	I., 18; VII., 25.	* Ur-temen-na	II., 19.
Ur ᵈBa-ú	V., 5, 18; VI., 26.	Ur-ṭùm-al	VII., 38.
Urᵈ Ba-ú 2	VII., 12.	* Ú-ša(g)-ag-li-x	III., 35.
Urᵈ Ba-ú 3	VII., 17.		
Urᵈ Dumu-zi(d)-da	II., 4.	Za-al-li-a	IX., 31.
* Ur-giš-gibil-ga-mes	II., 7.	*Za-an-nu-um	IX., 6.
		* Za-ar-ʔ	IV., 2.
* Ur-giš-gigir	IV., 30.	* Za-ga-ti	IV., 23.
Urᵈ Ka-di	II., 29.	* Za-na-ḳum	V., 20.
Urᵈ Kal	VII., 7.	* Za-rik	IV., 10.
Ur-luḫ	V., 18.	* Zu-ku-ti	III., 9.
Ur-mes	V., 3; VI., 19; IX., 1.	* Zu-la-lum	IV., 36.
		* Zu-ú-a	V., 2.

Note (1) VIII., 16 of my copy reads *PI.BA*. The original is certainly *lim-ma*.

Note (2) The majority of the names occur on Drehem texts. Those which do not are starred. Some of these are, I think, not found elsewhere hitherto.

Note (3) The tablet provides an unusually large number of personal names. This number far exceeds the number of persons to whom payment is made, i.e. 162 (see Summary XII.). These 162 are they before whose names (Cols. I.-X.) a quantity (of barley) is indicated. Actually, owing to the condition of the tablet, only 160 such persons can be traced. No doubt the other two are lost with the lines in Cols. VII., VIII., IX., X. The large remainder did not receive payment. No quantity is written against their names. They are the 54 whose names are not otherwise distinguished, the 19 dead (ūg), another 60 before whose name is written a sign which is quite unknown to me. It occurs 60 times followed by a Personal Name. The copy gives as much of the sign as I can see in each instance. In the several places where it is clear to the eye, it is written  . The two slanting strokes are certain.

The summaries help to the negative conclusion that the sign is not a sign of numeration of ḳa received by the person whose name follows. The summary gives the total number of payees as 162. That number

has been adequately accounted for above. No others are included in the summary.

The persons who receive payment are distinguished (Cols. X., XI., XII.) as kal-engar (slave-husbandmen), gím (female slaves), dumu nita (male children), dumu sal (female children). Two other classes are:

Kal šu-gí; occurs only in the summaries (X., 31; XII., 22) šu-gí = old, and is applied to animals also. In the totals the kal šu-gi are placed after dumu-nita and before dumu-sal; they receive more than any boy. Cf. Inv. T.T. (11) 736, C.T.I. pl. 7, 11. There also, in the total, the kal šu-gí are placed after dumu-nita.

Kal sig-a. In Cols. IX., X., occur (1) *sig-a ūg Personal Name* (4 times). (2) *sig-aX(ḳa) Personal Name* (17 times). The total (Col. XII.) includes 17 *kal sig-a.* This numerical correspondence indicates that *sig-a* in Cols. IX., X., has the same significance as in phrase *kal sig-a* in Cols. XI., XII.

They are included in the general class nu-giš-sar-me (XI., 40; XII. 9). So also TU 146, VI., 16-21, C.T. VII., pl. 7, IV., 2, cf. with C.T. VII., pl. 7, col. III, 16. They had, then, something to do with the care of trees, but what in particular?

An interesting difference of order occurs in C.T. V. 43, IV.

x ḳa sig-a Personal Name, not, as on our tablet, *sig-a x ḳa Personal name;* similarly C.T. VII. pl. 7, I. 4, *ūg sig-a Personal Name*, not as on our text, *sig-a ūg Personal Name.*

OCCUPATIONS:

Engar husbandman, passim; zūr-ri engar, I. 2.

engar-ša(g)-gud-me. IV., 34 cf. C.T. IX., pl. 27, 14, 24, engarša(g)-gud-gan nu-engar-me.

Ša(g)-Sahar-ra-me. V. 17; cf. C.T. 25, 26, 30, *Sahar = kizum* = Sword bearer.

A-kar-Nigin-me. V. 25.

The above are all combined in XI., 1, "*engar ša(g)-gud ša(g)-saḫar-ra ù a-kar-NIGIN-me.*"

abgal-tag-me. V., 32; XI., 4. Delitzsch suggests "Meister des taga, d.h. vielleicht des Hantierens" (S. gl. p. 85 gašam).

amar-tar, cf. R-ùg-il-me, VIII., 4; XI., 21; gím-ará-R-me, XI., 26.

ašgab, a worker in leather. N-R, V. 27, cf Inv. T.T. vol. 2, 3488 where the ašgab works at shipbuilding.

dū-a-tar. N-R, IX. 29; R-me, IX. 4. Genouillac, Inv. T.T. Vol. 2, ad 630, "terrasiers." Deimel "Gartenarbeiter," because included amongst the igi-nu-dŭ giš-me. VAT 4600 (S. gra. p. 148).

gím-ará. ará = tênu = to grind; female slaves who grind corn. R-amar-tar-me, XI., 26; R ù kal-amar-ri gub-ba-me, XI., 34; VIII., 38.

R ùg-il-me, VIII., 23, cf C.T. I. pl. 7, col. III., 4, 1 kal ùg-il-ará.

Gir-sí(g)-ga. še-ba R. XII., 34. Found often on Telloh tablets. Seems to be a profession of some kind.

kal-amar-ri, cf. gím-ará ù R gub-ba-me, XI., 34; VIII., 38.

nu-giš-sar-me. XI., XII. "le jardinier ou plus exactement l'homme qui soigne les plantations d'arbres." Th-D. R.A. 1920, p. 28, n. 9.

túg-GAB. N-R, V. 29, a weaver of cloth.

ùg-il. carriers, cf. amar-tar R; gím-ará R.

um-mi-a: N-R., IX., 1.; X., 8; X., 13. "Manoevres." Genouillac, Inv. T.T. Vol. 2 ad. 630.

Also *dub-sar*, writer, N.R., V., 14; lù-sar-me, gardeners. VI., 7; XI., 9; *nagar*, joiner, N.R., V., 26; *ni-dŭ-me*, porters, VI., 15, XI., 14.

Dumu-ni passim; *dumu-ni-me*, VI., 5, 14, etc. dumu-sal-ni, VIII., 6; dumu-nita-ni, IX., 19.

PLACE-NAMES. They are new to me.

1. *Ba-ba-az*^{ki} giš-sar-*Ba-ba-az*^{ki}, IX., 15; X., 12.
   ša(g) *Ba-ba-az*^{ki}, XII., 35.
   cf. Personal name Bá-ša-*ba-ba-az*, X., 16.
2. *Bí(L)-Zi-BÁD*^{ki} giš-tir Bí(L)-Zí-BÁD^{ki}, VI., 16.
3. *Gu-dū(? ni)-na*^{ki} giš-sar Gu-du (? ni)-na^{ki}, VI., 2.

Also VIII., 7, gím giš-ter-azag-ga.

It is impossible to say for certain from which place in Sumer our tablet has come. There is no external evidence and no sure conclusion can be drawn from the internal evidence. The internal evidence is (*a*) *the month name* itu maš-dū-kú. This name is found only in the calendar of Drehem,[1] but this fact is not conclusive. The calendars of different cities, e.g. of Umma, Drehem, Adab, had certain month names in common. Later discoveries may show that the name itu maš-dū-kú was not peculiar to Drehem. (*b*) *The personal names* seem to support Drehem. But it is clear from Telloh, Drehem,

[1] Professor Langdon published "Ten Tablets from the Archives of Adab" (R.A., 1922, p. 187-194). He gives a list of Adab months. The name of "2nd" month is not known. At Drehem it was maš-dū-kú. Was it so at Adab? His tablet 10, Rev. 14, is read by him mu-Du *Azag-maš-dū-ka*, which he regards as a personal name. The tablet seems to be indistinct here. But from Langdon's copy, it seems more likely that the line must be read :—mu-Du *itu-maš-dū-kú*.

and Umma tablets of this period that the same names were common to several cities. (*c*) The phrase "*ša*(*g*) *Ba-ba-az*^{ki}" by itself states that the facts recorded are to be located in Ba-ba-az. It does not prove that the tablet has come from Ba-ba-az. Many tablets found in one place, e.g. Drehem, record administration work carried out in another place, e.g. Ur, Nippur, Tummal. (*d*) *The size* of our tablet is greater than that of any Drehem tablet hitherto published.

It seems safe to conclude that the tablet comes from a place in the Drehem-Umma district; that place *may* be Ba-ba-az, a name which, as far as I know, has never been read on any tablet published up to date.

HAND-LISTS OF CHARTERS AND DEEDS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By ROBERT FAWTIER, D. ès Lettres.

ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

IV.

THE PHILLIPPS CHARTERS (*continued*).

CASTLETON (Co. Derby).

[R. 23197] 206-208 (35560).—Three documents relating to lands in Castleton, viz:

206.—Grant by Robert, son of Robert Balge, to William Blaunchard of Castleton, of six furrows of land in Spital Field, at a rent of a barbed arrow. Sept. 22d, 1305. [Latin MS. 201.]

Seal missing.

207.—Grant by Peter Le Norreys to Robert de Vusedon of Castleton, of four rods of land near Ryecroft. Oct. 6th, 1333.

Seal missing. [Latin MS. 202.]

208.—Grant by John Hall of Castleton to George Talbot, knt., Earl of Salop, Robert Eyre of Padley, sen., Esq., Thomas Monerell, Robert Eyre, jun., and John Draycott, gent., of all his lands, goods and chattels. March 20th, 1487. [Latin MS. 203.]

One seal in red wax: a lion passant reguardant.

ASHBOURNE (Co. Derby).

[R. 23198] 209-214 (30337).—Six documents relating to lands in Ashbourne, viz:

209.—Grant by Agnes, widow of Henry Spendlove, to William de Bredlowe of Ashbourne, of a piece of land. March 21, 1271.

Seal missing. [Latin MS. 204.]

210.—Grant by Ralph, son of Thomas de Peverwich, to Robert, son of Hugh of Ashbourne, and Alicia his wife, of a piece of land. June 15th, 1300. [Latin MS. 205.]

Seal missing.

211.—Evidence given before William Wulphet, B.C.L., subdean of the Royal Chapel of All Hallows, Derby, William Benet, dean of Derby, Gilbert Butterworth, priest, John Ashwell, priest of the Royal Chapel, Edmund Dey, Edmund Rawlinson and Robert Shaw, gent., by John Taberer of Derby and his father concerning the property of Harry Alsopp of Ashbourne in Ashbourne and the house of John Spycer in Derby. Sept. 3d 1469. [English MS. 230.]

Seal missing.

212.—Grant by John Holand, son of John Holand, and William Taberer, son of John Taberer, to Henry Vernon, Nicholas Montgomery, John Cokayn, Richard Knyveton, Ralph and Humphrey Okover, John Fitzherbert, John Knyveton, Robert Bradshaw, Esq., John Northampton, Vicar of Ashbourne, Henry Prynce, Rector of Norbury, Richard Gutteler, Humphrey Woodshaw, chaplain, and John Tyldisley, of all their lands, goods and chattels in Ashbourne, Oscote and Underwood. Jan. 20th, 1485. [Latin MS. 206.]

Two seals missing.

213.—Grant by the said William Taberer to the said John Holand of all his messuages, lands and revenues in the said places at an annual rent of 6s. 8d. Jan. 21 , 1495. [Latin MS. 208.]

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

214.—Power of attorney given by Hugh Beardsley, late of Ashbourne, to John Northampton, Vicar of Ashbourne, and James Beardsley, to give possession to John Broadburn of Hoghe, Esq., and Ann, his wife, of a house in Church Street, Ashbourne. March 20th, 1487.

One seal in brown wax: a cross lorrain (?) [Latin MS. 207.]

TADDINGTON (Co. Derby).

[R. 23199] 215-219 (35558).—Five documents relating to lands and persons in Taddington, viz:

215.—Grant by Nicholas le Archer, son of Nicholas le Archer, to Baldwin de Friville, of 21 acres of land, at a rent of a rose on the day of the nativity of St. John the Baptist. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: Domino Rogero de Borthulle, domino Ludovico de Lacy, domino Ricardo de Solers, Johanne de Yesching, Warino de Grendene, Thoma Warin, Johanne de Solers, et multis aliis.*" [Latin MS. 210.]

Seal missing.

216.—Grant by Nicholas le Archer to Walter, son of Richard de Taddington, of two messuages at a rent of 12d. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: Thoma de Solariis, Waltero de Aula de Aspertona, Ricardo de Mora de parva Tadingtona, Waltero de la Grene, Hugone de Molina de*

Westone, Philippo de La Hulle de eadem, Waltero de Westone et aliis." [Latin MS. 209.]

Seal missing.

217.—Grant by John de Solers, the son of Symon de Solers of Taddington, to Walter, the son of Richard de Taddington, of 8 acres of land and ½ acre of meadow at a rent of £2. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: Waltero de Astone, Willelmo de Frome, Hugone Le Fremon, Ricardo de la More, Waltero de La Grene, Nicolas Le Brid et multis aliis.*"

Seal missing. [Latin MS. 211.]

218.—Grant by Baldwin de Freville, knt., to John Le Taylour and Amable, his wife, of a piece of meadow at a rent of 16d. March 27th, 1329. [Latin MS. 212.]

Seal missing.

219.—Indenture of the fine between Richard Reppington, Esq., and Richard Edwards, gent., on one side, and Humphrey Ferrere, knt., and Anna, his wife, on the other side, concerning lands. 1594. [Latin MS. 213.]

[R. 23200] 220-223 (32965).—Four documents concerning places in the county of Derby.

BRAILSFORD and MERCASTON (Co. Derby).

220.—An agreement between Henry, Lord of Brailsford, and John Le Blund of Mercaston, concerning the fees of Brailsford and Mercaston. April 9th, 1273. [Latin MS. 214.]

Seal [of Henry, Ld. of Brailsford] missing.

HOGNASTON (Co. Derby).

221.—Grant by William, clerk of Hognaston, Henry Morel, Adam, son of Warin, John Wilde, Adam, son of Adam, William Oeyn, Hugh of Combruge, John, son of Adam, to Robert, son of Richard de Fernhalle, of 2 acres of land at a rent of 12d. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: Matheo de Bonnetum, Ricardo le Porter, Rogero Spurnecorteys, Henrico filio Tome de Hoptum, Waltero ad fontem, Willelmo clerico et aliis.*" [Latin MS. 215.]

Six seals missing.

LITTLE LONGSTONE (Co. Derby).

222.—Grant by Robert Litterell to Richard, son of Richard de Ednishover [Edensor] of three bovates of land at a rent of 20d. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: Willelmo de Vernone, Rolando de Suttone, Willelmo Basset, Thomas de Ednishover, Jordano de Snutertone Adamo de Hetell, Luca de Beleia, Willelmo de Derb, Thoma de Derb, Willelmo*

de Chattiswrd, Petro de Rolande, Martino filio Rogeri, Matheo de Lagisdone, Petro de Langisdone, Willelmo de Tideswell, Willelmo Piner, Petro filio Mathei, Matheo filio Eustachii, et multis aliis."

One seal missing. [Latin MS. 216.]

HULLAND and HOGNASTON (Co. Derby).

223.—Power of attorney given by William de Tyssintone to his son Thomas, to give a quitclaim of certain rights to John Blount. March 17th, 1330.

One seal missing. [Latin MS. 217.]

[R. 23201] 224-227 (29222).—Four documents concerning persons and places in Derbyshire and Yorkshire, viz:

LITTLE LONGSTONE (Co. Derby).

224.—Grant by Walter, son of Colin de Mornesalle [Monsall] to Mathew, son of Thomas de Wangwell, of four acres of land. n.d. "*Hiis testibus Waltero de Estewete, tunc vicecomite, Roberto de Dun, Jordano de Snuterton, Roberto Havenel, Jordano de Hope, Bnstaco* (sic) *de Mornesalle, Roberto de Ednistone, Matheo de Havirsege et aliis.*" [Latin MS. 218.]

One seal missing.

THORNSETT (Co. Derby).

225.—Grant by William de Lumby to Roger de Smalefeude of land at a rent of 8s. 9d. to the Lords of the fee (the Lady Mathilda de Beauchamp granted the land to William de Lumby's father) and one florin to Roger and his heirs. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: Elia de Mydhope, Radulpho de Schesende, clerico, Henrico de Spina, Johanne de Wyteley, Thoma Brun, Rogero de Nora de Ughil, Radulpho de eadem, Hugone de Hertechse, clerico, et aliis.*" [Latin MS. 219.]

One seal missing.

WILSICK near WADWORTH (Co. York. West Riding).

226.—Grant by John, son of William de Willesick to William Bosewille of Edlington of some rights. Sept. 21st, 1294.

One seal missing. [Latin MS. 220.]

ONYSACKER in BRADFIELD (Co. York).

227.—Grant and quitclaim by Adam le Sumpter de Onysacker to John, son of Adam de Mora de Waldershelfe of some lands. Aug. 15th, 1333. [Latin MS. 221.]

Seal in brown wax (entirely defaced).

BREADSALL (Co. Derby).

[R. 23203] 228 (30670).—Letters patent of King Edward III. Feb. 19th, 1376. [Latin MS. 222.]

Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, omnibus ad quos presentes litteras pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod per manucaptionem Roberti de Kendale, chivaler, de comitatu Salopie, et Henrici Puys de comitatu Staffordie, commisimus dilecto et fideli nostro Hugoni, Comiti Staffordie, custodiam medietatis manerii de Breydeshale cum pertinenciis in comitatu Derbie, quam Alianora, que fuit uxor Hostelecti Tresygnes, tenuit ad terminum vite sue de dono Johannis de Fferreres, militis, defuncti, qui de nobis tenuit in capite, pensione inde ad Robertum Fferreres, filium et heredem dicti Johannis, infra etatem et in custodia nostra existentem spectante habendam una cum exitibus inde a tempore mortis prefate Alienore perceptis usque ad legitimam etatem predicti Roberti, reddendo inde nobis per annum ad scaccarium nostrum extentam inde factam vel faciendam ad festum Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales portiones. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium, XIX die Februarii, anno regni nostri Anglie quinquagesimo, regni vero nostri Francie tricesimo septimo.

Per Billain thesaurarium. *Muskham.*

Fragment of great seal in white wax.

[R. 23204] 229-233 (28220).—Five documents concerning lands and persons in the county of Derby, viz.:

ROSLISTON (Co. Derby).

229.—Extract of court roll. Aug. 9th, 1415. [Latin MS. 223.]

GLOSSOP (Co. Derby).

230.—Receipt for 20s. paid by William del Roydes of Penistone to John Garleck of Glossop. June 6th, 1417. [Latin MS. 224.]

One seal missing.

MERCASTON (Co. Derby).

231.—Indenture of the fine between Humphrey Bradborne, knt., and Thomas Knyveton and Jane his wife. 1557. [Latin MS. 225.]

CHESTERFIELD (Co. Derby.)

232.—Power of attorney given by Thomas de Nevill, Lord of Furnivall, to John Mapples of Sheffield, to take seisine of lands in

Chesterfield, Newbold, Boythorpe, Dronfield, Brampton and Walton. Feb. 8th, 1397. [French MS. 99.]

Fragment of seal in red wax (De Gray Birch, No. 12157).

PARWICH (Co. Derby).

233.—Grant by Edward Salisbury, son and heir of Ralph Salisbury, Esq., late of Denbigh (Wales), to John Knyveton of Underwood in the county of Derby, of lands in Parwich for ten years at a rent of a red rose, and after the ten years at a rent of 20s. Dec. 6th, 1500.

Seal missing. [English MS. 233.]

[R. 23205] 234-237 (35559).—Four documents relating to lands and persons in Derbyshire and Yorkshire, viz.:

MIDHOPE in BRADFIELD (Co. York).

234.—Grant by Helyas de Midhoppe, knt., to William de Ekilrode of a piece of land. Jan. 6th, 1263. [Latin MS. 227.]

Seal missing.

BOYLESTON (Co. Derby).

235.—Grant and quitclaim by Stephen de Grendone, Lord of the moiety of Boyleston, to Roger de Rideware, of twenty acres of land. n.d. "*Hiis testibus Johanne de Bentelege, Ricardo de Kingislege, Johanne Wace, Roberto de Trettone, Rogero Wildegos, Rogero de Prato, Johanne Foucher, Johanne de Bentelege, capellano, et aliis.*"

Seal missing. [Latin MS. 226.]

236.—Power of attorney given by Roger de Rideware, son and heir of the late Roger de Rideware, of the county of Derby, to Thomas de Perewych, to give possession of the manor of Bolyleston to John de Lasinger, a citizen of London. March 25th, 1294.

Seal missing. [Latin MS. 229.]

BRADFIELD (Co. York).

237.—Grant by John, late of Bradfield, to Walter de Meduwe, of six acres of land. Nov. 25th, 1345. [Latin MS. 228.]

Seal missing.

[R. 23208] 238-245 (35562).—Six documents relating to lands and persons in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire.

WALTON-SUPER-TRENT (Co. Derby).

238.—Grant and quitclaim by Adusa, daughter and heir of Roger Page, to Ralph de Durgh, of her lands in Walton, which her father

held from John Retuchin. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: Dominis Johanne Grym, Ricardo de Curzon, militibus, Willelmo de Caldewelle, Willelmo Child, Roberto filio Ade de Waletone, Rogero Jacob, Ricardo Pistore, Willelmo Traynel, Willelmo Dunstan et aliis.*"

Seal missing. [Latin MS. 232.]

239.—Grant by Roger called Adam de Walton, to Robert, son of Nicholas de Fynderne and Amicia, his wife, of one and a half acres of land. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: Dominus Ricardus, rector ecclesie de Waltone, Robertus Ferbras, senescallus domini Roberti de Monte Alto, Willelmus . . . Willelmus Dunstone, Johannes Traynel, et aliis*" (sic). [Latin MS. 233.]

Seal missing.

EDWALTON (Co. Nottingham).

240.—Grant by Mathilda de Edwaltone, widow of Ralph Clark, to Robert, her son, of a messuage and land at a rent of a pair of white gloves. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: domino Arnulpho, capellano de Edewaltone, Radulpho filio Lucie, Willelmo filio Mathei, Willelmo Le Kirkeman, Johanne Barry de Tortlavetone, Willelmo Cosin, Nicholao preposito de Edewaltone, Willelmo Corkard.*"

Seal missing. [Latin MS. 234.]

WALTON-BY-CHESTERFIELD (Co. Derby).

241.—Grant by Agnes, widow of William de Meysam of Walton, to William, Rector of the Church of Kessingland (Co. Suffolk) of the third part of a messuage and of ten strips of land. June 20th, 1305.

Seal missing. [Latin MS. 235.]

WALTON-SUPER-TRENT (Co. Derby).

242.—Grant by Roger, the son of Robert, son of Adam, to Richard Waleys, of various lands at a rent of a rose on the nativity of St. John the Baptist. Dec. 13th, 1311. [Latin MS. 236.]

Seal in red wax imperfect: a lion passant (?): . . . ILLV. SEC. . . .

243.—Grant by William de Meysham, to Richard Waleys, parson of the Church of Waleys, of all his lands and tenements. May 2d, 1317. [Latin MS. 237.]

Seal missing.

YEAVELEY (Co. Derby).

[R. 23206] 244-245 (32949).—Two documents concerning lands and persons in Yeaveley, viz.:

244.—Power of attorney given by Symon de Meynil to William del Halle his baillif and Richard Le Stedeman, to receive seisine of lands from William de Saperton and John Umfray de Childecote. May 22d, 1347.

Seal in red wax: a shield of arms *couché* barry of six indented, crest on a helmet, SIGILLV̄ [D . SIM]ONIS . DE. MEIGNIL.

[French MS. 100.]

245.—Quitclaim by Richard, the son of Richard Le Fonne, to Hugh de Meignill, of all his lands. Feb. 24th, 1339. [Latin MS. 230.]

Seal in red wax. A shield of arms *couché* bearing a cross patté. Crest on a helmet, S. RICARDI . DE . FONNE.

WATERBEACH (Co. Cambridge).

[R. 33811] 246 (34596).—An early transcript of letters patent of Edward I. (Aug. 1st, 1281).

"*Edwardus dei gratia Rex Anglie, Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie, omnibus ad quos presentes litteras pervenerint salutem. Cum Ricardus le Butiller, de quo dilecta nobis Dionisia de Monte Canisio manerium suum de Waterbeche tenuit per servitium unius rose per annum pro omni servicio, qui quidem Ricardus tanquam medius inter nos et ipsam Dionisiam manerium illud cum pertinentiis de nobis tenuit in capite immediate per servitium medietatis feodi unius militis, servicium illud cum omnibus que ad ipsum Ricardum et ad heredes suos inde pertinuerunt vel pertinere potuerunt seu debuerunt ex quacumque causa nobis et heredibus nostris remiserit et quietum clamavit de se et heredibus suis im perpetuum, cepimus nos pro nobis et heredibus nostris ad predictam Dionisiam et ad heredes suos de predicto servicio unius rose per annum. Ita quod ipsa Dionisia et heredes sui de cetero teneant manerium illud, cum pertinenciis suis et cum omnibus libertatibus et consuetudinibus, de nobis et heredibus nostris in capite immediate per predictum servicium unius rose per annum pro omni servicio, exactione et demanda seculari, quietum de servicio predicte medietatis feodi unius militis, de turno vicecomitis, visu franci plegii, pontagio, hydagio et omnibus aliis serviciis regalibus ad nos vel heredes nostros inde spectantibus, volentes et concedentes pro nobis et heredibus notris quod ipsa Dionisia et heredes sui de cetero habeant et teneant manerium illud cum pertinenciis et cum omnibus libertatibus et consuetudinibus, ut predictum est, de nobis et heredibus nostris immediate in capite im perpetuum, faciendo inde nobis et heredibus nostris servicium unius rose per annum pro omni servicio, exactione et demanda, sicut*

predictum est. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Estwode primo die Augusti anno regni nostri nono.

[R. 23209] 247-259 (23090).—Thirteen documents concerning lands and persons in the counties of Durham, Lancaster, and Stafford, viz.:

[Latin MS. 238.]

STAINTON-WITH-STREATLAM (Co. Durham).

247.—Grant by Hugh Traine to "Margare," his daughter of two bovates of land, at a rent of 1 d. of silver. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: Petro de Eyre, Elya de Beleyrbi, Hugone Mauburne, Henrico Sprig, Henrico de Egglestone, Bernardo de Langetone, Eudo de Clethum, Johanne de Bristonne, Adam de Stantona, Mathilda de Stantona et aliis.*"

Seal missing.

248.—Grant and quitclaim by Margaret, the widow of John Norais of Dalton, and the daughter of Hugh Trainer, to Robert Trainer, her brother, of the same lands. July 7th, 1262.

Seal missing.

249.—Grant by Robert Mustel of Kendal and Amabilla de Drumhoushened, his wife, to Gaufrey, the son of Jordan Russel, of a messuage. Jan. 5th, 1301.

Seal missing.

250.—Quitclaim by Eudo, the son of Mathew Trayneys, to Gaufrey, the son of Jordan Russell, of all his lands. Oct. 26th, 1306.

Seal missing.

251.—Grant by John Traynet, son of John Traynet, knt., of Streatlam, to Peter de la Haye of Spaldington, his cousin, of his manor of Streatlam. March 25th, 1311.

Seal missing.

252.—Grant by Gaufrey de Hedlum to Henry de Lullingtone and Alienora his wife, of all the lands held by the said Gaufrey, at a rent of 40s. of silver. July 6th, 1353.

Three seals missing.

253.—Quitclaim by Robert, son of Robert de Bowes, to the heirs of Thomas de Bowes (nephews of Robert de Bowes, sen.) of his rights on the manor of Streatlam. Nov. 16th, 1356. Indorsed: "*Inrolatus in cancellaria Domini Thome episcopi Dunelmensis, in rotulo de anno pontificatus sui duodecimo.*"

One seal missing.

254.—Grant and quitclaim made before the Corporation of the city of York, by Peter, son and heir of Thomas de la Haye of Spaldington, to William de Bowes, of his rights on the manor of Streatlam and Stainton. Dec. 21st, 1379.

Seals missing.

255.—Grant by Ralph Bowes, esq., younger brother and heir of William Bowes, Esq., to Isabella, the latter's widow and wife of Thomas Bryan, chief justice of the King's Bench, of lands in Budill and Spindelston in the county of Northumberland, in Magna Chilton, Hilton, Stainton, Staindrop and Winston in the county of Durham, as a dowry for her life. Sept. 23d, 1474.

Two seals missing

256.—Confirmation by Ralph Bowes, esq., of No. 255 and of the grant made to the said Isabella by Henry Billokes and Thomas Portyngton, clerk, of the manors of Baynes *alias* Hamyldon, Clowcroft, Palyon, and Newton near Durham. Sept. 24th, 1474.

Seal missing.

257.—Grant by Ralph Bowes of Dalden, knt., to Alicia, Lady Fitzhugh, Richard Haushard, esq., John Hoton, Esq., Roland Lutworth, esq., Thomas Fairhar, John Bowes, chaplain, and Thomas Roy, chaplain, of his manors of Streatlam, Stainton, and Hilton. July 7th, 1482.

Seal missing.

LAYTHOM (Co. York).

258.—Grant by William, son of Peter de Lathome to Philipp de Laley, of 15 acres of land at a rent of 3s. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: Domino Gerardo Salwayn, Domino Roberto Cunstabel, Domino Petro de Lahay, Domino Thoma de Gunneby, Ricardo Delahay, Jacobo Batayle, Roberto Batayle, Rogero de Linton, Rogero filio Eudonis, Thomas Sutinby, Galfrido Freman, Willelmo de Folkethorpe et multis aliis.*"

Seal missing.

ASTON (Co. Stafford).

259.—Grant by John, son of Richard de Asterhul, to Richard Perot and Alicia, his wife, of a piece of land at a rent of one obole in silver. April 29th, 1321.

Seal missing.

DERBYSHIRE.

[R. 23202] 260-261 (28654).—Two rentals concerning lands, the property of Sir Humphrey Bradburn, viz.:

260.—*Rentall made the XXVIII^th day of September in the second yere of our Sovereigne Lord Edwarde the VI^th, of rents dew unto Sir Honfrey Bradburne, knyght, at the fest of Saynte Mychaell.* (1548).

261.—*Anno Domini* 1565.

A rentall made the seconde daye of October in the VII^th yere of the reygne of our soveraigne Ladye Elizabethe, by the grace of God quene of England, Fraunce and Irelande, defendoure of the faythe, etc., of the rents due to Sir Houmffrey Bradburne, Knyght of the Lee, at the feast of Sancte Michaell th' archangell laste paste before the date herof.

The rents come from lands in the following places: Hulland, Bigging, Bradbourne, Kniveton, Roston, Boylestone, Hollington, Hognaston, Ridware, Atlow, Ashbourne, Bentley, Offcote, Underwood, Falde, Belper, Ireton Kirk, Allstonfield, Taddington, Priestcliffe, Brailsford, Parwich, Wirksworth.

BESWICK and LOCKINGTON (Co. York, W. Riding).

[R. 29092] 262-283 (16953-4, 35657).—Twenty-two documents concerning Beswick and Lockington, forming lot 1123 at the Phillipps Sale of April 28th, 1911. Only four of these documents bear Phillipps numbers, nos. 264 (16954), 272 and 276 (16953), 283 (35657). The documents relate to lands and persons in the above-mentioned places, viz.:

[Latin MS. 260.]

262.—Grant by Ralph Flit of Beswick and Isabella, his wife, to John, son of Stephen de Ruda, of Scarbrough, of a piece of land in the fee of the Knights of St. John, at a rent of one obole, each quarter. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: Domino Alfredo Ageplum, milite, Johanne de Bothum, Johanne de Acke, Waltero, filio suo, Willelmo Marescallo de Acke, Hugone Freman de Beswick, Thoma filio Hugonis de eadem, Johanne de Acke in Scourburgh, Ada, fratre ejus, de eadem, et multis aliis.*"

Two seals missing.

263.—Grant by William Spenn of Beverley and Jane, his wife, to William Fresti, William Sparowe, chaplain, and Patrick Rasshe, of a messuage and land in Beswick, for the lifetime of the said Jane, at a rent of a rose on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. Jan. 19th, 1402.

Two seals: (1) missing; (2) in red wax: a bird (?)

264.—Grant by William Frost and Patrick Rasshe, chaplain, to Henry Randolph and Elizabeth, his wife, of the same land for the lifetime of Jane, the widow of William Spenn of Beverley. Dec. 13th, 1407.

Two seals: (1) missing; (2) in red wax, imperfect.

265.—Grant by William Clyff of Lockington to Agnes, his wife, and Beatrice, his daughter, of his lands in Beswick. Aug. 25th, 1409.

One seal missing.

266.—Grant by Henry Randolph of Lockington, to William Petnall of Beswick and Jane, his wife, of a piece of land in Beswick, at a rent of 2s. Nov. 11, 1415.

Two seals missing.

267.—Quitclaim by John Lynons of Pocklington, to Henry de Bilton, jun., of Lockington, and Emma, his wife, of lands in Lockington. July 25th, 1423.

One seal missing.

268.—Grant by Thomas Roos, citizen and mercer of London, to William Rappyn of Beswick, and Beatrice, his wife, of ½ bovate of land in Beswick. May 31st, 1427.

One seal in red wax: a fesce between 3 doves.

269.—Grant by Henry Randolph of Beverley, to William Clyff of Lockington, Beatrice, his wife, and Henry, their son, of a turf-pit in Beswick. December 1st, 1428.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

270.—Grant by John Pyckering of Beverley, clerk, to William Clyff and Beatrice, his wife, of a messuage and land in Beswick. June 16th, 1432.

One seal missing.

271.—Bond for the sum of £20 given by John and Peter Lund of Lockington, to Henry Clyff (Jan. 5th, 1445) and an agreement between the parties concerning the settlement of that debt. (Jan. 5th, 1445.)

Two seals missing.

272.—Grant by William Hervy of Lockington, to Henry Cliff of Lockington, yeoman, of land in Beswick. Dec. 15th, 1457.

One seal missing.

273.—Grant by Beatrice Clyff of Lockington, the widow of Henry Clyff, to William Clyff, the latter's son and heir, of all her lands in Beswick. Jan. 25, 1462.

One seal in brown wax (imperfect).

274.—Grant by Nicholas Fisher, of Aike, and Beatrice, his wife and the daughter of William Clyfl of Lockington, to John Normanvile, knt., of all the land granted to the said Beatrice by her father in Beswick. Jan. 10th, 1517.

Two seals missing.

275.—Quitclaim by William Clyff, son and heir of the late Thomas Clyff of Lockington, to Ralph Salven, knt., and Agnes, his wife, of two messuages and lands in Lockington. April 8th, 1521.

One seal in red wax: a talbot contourné.

276.—Grant by the same to John Wenseley, gent., of various lands in Lockington. April 8th, 1521.

One seal in red wax: a crowned T.

277.—Grant and quitclaim by Edward Clyff of Watton Carrs, to John Wensley, gent., of cottages and lands in Beswick. April, 27th, 1521.

One seal in red wax: a scythe (?).

278.—Bond for the sum of 40 marcs, given by Robert Androsene of Lockington, yeoman, John Key, Thomas Clarke and William Hepden, to John Wensley of Beverley, gent. Sept. 6th, 1521.

Two seals missing. Two seals in red wax remain (defaced).

279.—Quitclaim by William Clyff to Ralph Salven, knt., and Agnes, his wife, of a messuage and land in Lockington. Nov. 22d, 1521.

One seal in red wax: a stag lodged (?).

280.—Receipt for a sum of £30, given by John Hothom of Scorbrough, knt., to John Wensley of Beverley, gent. This money is payment for some lands sold by the said John Holton to John Wensley. March 26th, 1524.

One seal in red wax: a reindeer.

281.—Bond for the sum of £100 given by John Hothom to John Wensley. The money is lent on the security of lands in Beswick and Lockington, April 12th, 1524.

One seal in red wax: a reindeer.

282.—Power of attorney given by John Hothom to Robert Androsene and Roger Warde of Lockington, to give possession of one messuage in Lockington, one messuage and lands in Beswick, to John Wensley, gent., and his assignees. April 13th, 1524.

One seal in red wax: a reindeer.

283.—Grant by John Wensley, Esq., and John Green, chaplain, to Ralph Ellerker, knt., Thomas Ellerker, esq., Nicholas Rudston, esq., and Henry Newark, gent., of all their lands in Beswick and Lockington. Jan. 12th, 1531.

Two seals missing.

MIDDLETON [near ROTHWELL] (Co. York).

[R. 48230] 284-300 (30238).—Sixteen documents concerning lands and persons in the said place, viz.:

284.—Grant by Robert, son of Robert de Mideltona, to William de Erdislawe of Middleton, of a messuage and land, at a rent of 5s. May 17th, 1293.

One seal missing.

285.—A XVth cent. transcript of a grant by the same to Richard de Creppelyng of a piece of land called Planrode. n.d., n.w.

286.—Grant by John, son of Robert de Middeltone, to Symon de Crespingg, of a messuage, lands and rights. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: domino Hugone de Swibington, domino Willelmo de Beston, Willelmo de Alta Ripa, Willelmo de La Haye, Adam de Swibington, Willelmo filio . . . de Herdislore, Willelmo filio ejus, et aliis.*"

One seal in green wax: a figure standing.

287.—Grant by Roger de Fresnes, to Geoffrey de Wodehuse and Isabel, his wife, of some land, for their lifetime with reversion to Symon de Cresping. March 1st, 1302.

One seal missing.

288.—Grant by John de Merworth, knt., and Marjorie, his wife, to Robert, son of John Moke of Middleton, of a messuage and lands. Sept. 29th, 1323.

Two seals: (1) missing: (2) in red wax, imperfect.

289.—Grant by John de Merworth and Marjorie, his wife, to Thomas de Fenton of a messuage and land at a rent of 6s. to be paid for the first time on Whit-Sunday, 1325. n.d.

Two seals: (1) missing; (2) in red wax (imperfect).

290.—Grant by John de Merworth, knt., and Marjorie, his wife, to John Le Salter, of Middleton, and Alicia, his wife, of a messuage and land, at a rent in service and of 4s., for their lifetime, with reversion to the grantor. Feb. 9th, 1326.

Two seals missing.

291.—Grant by the same to the same of various lands at a rent of 4s. Feb. 8th, 1327.

Two seals in red wax: (1) nearly defaced; (2) a shield of arms with a chevron on a semée of crosses.

292.—Grant by Robert de Silkeston, a clerk, to Gilbert de La Leghe, of his manor of Middleton-juxta-Rothwell, which the said Robert hold for his lifetime at the death of Simon de Cresping. The grant is made for Gilbert's lifetime with reversion to John de Merworth and Margerie, his wife, daughter and heir of Simon de Cresping. April 29th, 1329.

One seal missing.

293.—Grant by Gilbert de La Leghe to John, his junior son, and Clarisia, the latter's wife and the daughter of Thomas de Fenton, of his manor of Middleton, April 24th, 1332.

One seal in red wax: a shield of arms with a saltire.

294.—An agreement between Thomas de Fenton and John del Legh in the matter of some lands and woods. Sept. 17th, 1335.

One seal in brown wax: a shield of arm nearly defaced, bearing a cross between . . ? . . S. THOME . DE . FENT[ON].

295.—Grant by Thomas de Fenton, to William de Baumburgh, vicar of Rothwell, and Andrew de Aghton, chaplain, of all the lands which he held from William de Castre, who held them from the Lady Alicia de Lascy. Jan. 4th, 1350.

One seal missing.

296.—Grant by William, son of John Le Yong, of Middleton, to Thomas de Linlay, of Thorpe-on-the-Hill, and Alice, his wife, of an essart called Serlerode. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: Thoma de Fenton, Henrico de Olton, Adam Camel de Rothewell, capellano, Johanne filio Thome de Lofthous, Adam Figge de Carleton et aliis.*"

One seal missing.

297.—Grant by Francis Tyas, Thomas de Struwe, and John de Drydesthesull, chaplain, to Thomas, son of John del Legh, and Margerie his wife, of their manor. May 7th, 1369.

Three seals missing.

298.—Grant by William Moxson, to Roger Legh, esq., of a messuage. March 14th, 1490.

One seal in red wax (defaced).

299.—Sale by Margaret, the widow of Robert Fellestlyff, to William Legh, esq., of a messuage in Middleton and some lands in the counties of Chester and York. March 19th, 1528.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

MIDDLETON-ON-THE-WOLDS (Co. York).

[48231] 300 (No. 1130. Sale 1911).—Grant by Robert Blundel of Middleton to John Page, of Middleton, of a piece of land. April 21st, 1385.

One seal in brown wax: a peacock close (?)

SWADLINCOTE (Co. Derby).

[R. 23207] 301-338 (35563).—Thirty-seven documents relating to lands and persons in Swadlincote in the county of Derby, viz.:

[Latin MS. 231; English MS. 234; French MS. 101.]

301.—Grant by Robert de la Warda to Henry de Verdun. n.d "*Hiis testibus: Galfrido de Greseley, Willelmo de Marciwall, Willelmo Rufo, Rogero de Dimernul (?), Johanne de Stapenhul, Thoma de Verdun, Petro de Durandestorp, Willelmo Grim, Radulpho de Shykenhal, Philippo Grim, Radulpho de Caldewell et aliis.*"

One seal missing.

302.—Agreement between Henry de Verdun, Lord of Derlaxton. on one side, and Thomas, son of Richard de Alrewas, and Mathilda, his wife, on the other side, concerning a piece of land. Feb. 2d, 1294.

One seal (Henry de Verdun) missing.

303.—Grant by Henry de Verdun, Lord of Derlaston, to Robert, son of Nicholas de Finderne, and Diviscie, his wife and the daughter, of Henry de Verdun. Oct. 4th, 1304.

One seal missing.

304.—Confirmation by Robert de Sugenhull and Petronilla, his wife, of the grant made by them to Petronilla, daughter of Henry de Verdun. n.d. *Hiis testibus: Domino Willelmo Pantulf, Roberto de Astona, Roberto de Suynvertona, Ivone de Waletona, Henrico de Herteshorn, Berteram de Herteshorn, Radulpho de Caldewelle, Radulpho de Basages, Willelmo de Bore de Waletona, Roberto filio Ernaldi et aliis.*"

Two seals in white wax (defaced).

305.—Grant by Ralph Grim to Petronilla, daughter of Henry de Verdun, of a piece of land at a rent of a pair of white gloves. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: domino Galfrido de Greselega, domino Willelmo Pantulf, Roberto de Sunvertona, Ivone de Valetona, Henrico de Hertishorna, Ricardo filio Bertrami de Hertishorna, Radulpho de Basagis, Willelmo de Bure de Valctona, Roberto filio Ernaldi, et aliis.*"

One seal missing.

306.—Grant by Petronilla, daughter of Henry de Verdun, knt., to Henry de Verdun, jun., of a virgate of land. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: Galfrido de Greselega, Radulpho de La Bache, Willelmo de Erteshorn, Roberto de Estona, marescallo, Thoma de Venables, Galfrido de Waletona, Galfrido, filio suo, et aliis.*"

One seal missing.

307.—Grant by Ralph Grim, to Petronilla, daughter of Henry de Verdun, of part of the mill and pool of Swadlincote at a rent of 12d. n.d. "*Hiis testibus . . .*" (same witn. as No. 305).

One seal missing.

308.—Grant by Petronilla, daughter of Henry de Verdun, to Henry de Verdun, jun., of the property granted to her by No 307. n.d. "*Hiis testibus . . .*" (same witn. as No 306).

Small fragment of seal in green wax: . . . LL . DE . . .

309.—"*Cestes sount les grevaunces dount Robert de Fynderne sey sent grevé par my Vivian de Verdoun*" (circa 1310).

310.—Grant by Robert de Fyndern, to John, the son of William de Walton. n.d. "*Hiis testibus: Willelmo de Aula, Willelmo Le Fort, Johanne Aliot, Adam Thurmod, Willelmo de Blacgreve et multis aliis.*"

One seal in white wax: a tree (?)

311.—An agreement between John Grim of Hethcote and Robert de Fyndern, touching the mill of Swadlincote. March 14th, 1316.

One seal in brown wax: a classical bust.

312.—An agreement between the Prior and Convent of Gresleye, O.S.A., of one part, and John Grym and Robert de Findrene of the other, touching a piece of land. April 10th, 1319.

One seal in white wax: on one side a knight on horseback with a shield bearing a cross; on the other side: SIGILLVM . . . . DE GRESELEYA.

313.—Grant by Robert de Findern to Thomas Le Bydere of Hethcote and Agnes, daughter of Thomas de Aula of Lynton. June 6th, 1325.

One seal in brown wax (defaced).

314.—Grant by John Grym, Lord of Hethcote, to John de Fyndern, son of Robert de Fyndern. Aug. 9th, 1342.

One seal in red wax: a classical bust.

315.—Grant by the same to the same. Jan. 7th, 1343.

Same seal as No 314.

316.—Grant by Alienora, widow of William Gryffin of Colton, to John, son of Robert de Fyndern, of all her lands in Walton-super-Trent. Sept. 26th, 1344. This grant is transcribed on the back of a grant by John Grym, Lord of Hethcote, to Robert de Fyndern, of a piece of woodland in Swadlincote. The lower part of the latter document has been cut off and the date is consequently missing as is the seal.

317.—A XVth cent. transcript of a grant by John Grym, Lord of Hethcote, to William, son of Thomas Attetonnushende of Swadlincote, of a piece of land. May 4th, 1352.

318.—Grant by Robert de Greseleye, knt., to John de Fyndern. Aug. 13th, 1360.

One seal in red wax: a shield of arms bearing a field of ermine with three roses in chief on a field of different tincture.

319.—Grant by John de Fyndern, to John Kyng of Swadlincote and Amabille, his wife. Feb. 4th, 1374.

One seal in black wax (defaced).

320.—Grant by John de Fyndern to Thomas Katesone of Swadlincote and Katherine his wife. June 22d, 1377.

Seal in green wax: a shield of arms quartered (much defaced).

321.—Grant by John Fyndern, to Roger de Greseleye. Feb. 6th, 1382.

Seal in red wax: a shield of arm bearing a fesce.

322.—Grant by Roger Attoone of Hartshorne, to John Flygh, rector of Hartshorne, and Simon de Tempull of Hartshorne. Oct. 15th, 1383.

One seal missing.

323.—Power of attorney given by Roger Attoone of Hartshorne to Walter Oky of Swadlincote, to give seisine of the land granted by No 322. Oct. 15th, 1383.

One seal missing.

324.—Grant by John Flygh, rector of Hartshorne, and Simon del Tempul, to Alicia, the widow of Roger Attoone. Dec. 2d, 1383.

Two seals missing.

325.—Grant by John Curson of Keddleston, John de Kyveton of Bradley, and Robert de Knyveton, clerk, to John, son of John de Fyndern, and Jane, his wife, of lands in Walton and Swadlincote. Oct. 28th, 1397.

Three seals in red wax: (1) A shield of arm bearing a bend; (2) A shield of arms bearing seven stars (?); (3) A shield of arms fretty with a canton of . . ? . .

326.—Agreement between John, son of John de Fyndern, and William Goose of Ashby, concerning some woodland in Swadlincote. March 26th, 1414.

One seal in red wax: a crowned W.

327.—Quitclaim by John Attewyn of Swadlincote, to William Smyth of Swadlincote and Alienora, his wife. Aug. 23d, 1416.

One seal missing.

328.—Quitclaim by John Rolster of Swarkeston, esq., and Henry, his son, to Thomas and Robert Forster of Ashby. Apr. 25th, 1481.

Two seals missing.

329.—Lease by Thomas Fyndern, late of Monneton in the county of Warwick, esq., to Humphrey Dethick of New Hall in the county of Derby, esq., and Elizabeth, his wife. March 10th, 1567.

One seal in brown wax (defaced).

330.—Bond to perform covenants by Thomas Findern to John Breton of Worthington in the County of Leicester. July 30th, 1567.

One seal missing.

331.—Fine between John Breton and Thomas Findern. Oct. 1567.

332.—Lease by John Brytayne of Syrescote in the county of Stafford, esq., to John Milner of Swadlincote. Feb. 20th, 1568.

One seal in red wax (defaced).

333.—Fine between John Breton and Richard Harpur. Jan. 1569.

334.—Recovery of the manor of Swadlincote. Breton-Fyndern. Oct. 30th, 1569.

Great seal of England (Elizabeth) in black wax.

337.—Lease by Christopher Horten. sen., of Catton in the county of Derby, esq., to Thomas Leighton alias Taylor, of Swadlincote. May 16th, 1630.

Seal in red wax not impressed.

338.—Feoffment of the manor of Swadlincote by the Executors of Richard Hill, late rector of Hampton Episcopi in the county of Warwick, to Christopher Smyth of Catton in the county of Derby, and Richard Smyth of Dunstall in the county of Stafford, yeomen. July 6th, 1636.

Two seals in red wax: (1) C.S. (Christopher Smith); (2) R.S. (Richard Smith).

[R. 29090] 339-387 (30361-30365, 30375-30376).—Forty-nine documents relating mostly to lands and persons in Charing in the county of Kent, viz: [Latin M.S. 265.]

CHARING (Co. Kent).

339.—Grant by John de Foghelesle, to Nigel de Cherrynge, tanner. March 13th, 1306.

One seal in green wax: a mullet of 8 points. S . IOHS . ATWOODCL.

340.—Grant by William Sykeys, Ann, his wife, Gumnora and Sarra, his sisters-in-law, to John de Porta of Charing. April 15th, 1318.

Four seals in green wax: (1) A mullet of 8 points. S.W. . . .; (2) A bough of fir-tree. S . ANNE . FIL . ROGERI; (3) A fleur-de-lys. S . GUNNORE FIL . ROGERI; (4) A pair of pincers . S . SARRE. . . .

341.—Grant by Roger, son of Symon Neal of Charing, to Jane de Benyndenne, widow of Roger Baker (*Pistor*) of Charing. June 19th, 1326.

One seal in green wax: a cross pattée. S . ROGERI . FIL . SIMONIS.

342.—Grant by John, son of Hauwyse Atte Dove of Charing, to Richard Chapman. March 20th, 1335.

One seal in brown wax (imperfect).

343.—Grant by Thomas, son of Lucy Atte Gate of Charing, to Symon Skynere of Charing, and Jane his wife. March 18th, 1341.

One seal in green wax (imperfect).

344.—Grant by William Yeong of Bethersden, to Henry Atte Downe and Jane his wife. March 26th, 1341.

One seal missing.

345.—Grant by Thomas, the son of Lucy Atte Gate of Charing, to Symon Skynnere of Charing, and Jane his wife. Sept. 2d, 1346.

One seal in purple wax (imperfect).

346.—Grant by William Yve of Charing, to Robert de Welyngeham. Jan. 14th, 1364.

One seal in red wax: a pascal lamb contourné.

347.—Grant by William Reynold of Charing, to John Atte Gate. Feb. 17th, 1365.

One seal missing.

348.—Grant by Lucas Swan of Charing, to William Tritoun. April 7th, 1366.

One seal in green wax (imperfect).

349.—Grant by John Chyrral and Roger Payn of Charing, to Henry Dache, jun. March 22d, 1377.

One seal missing, one seal in red wax (imperfect).

350.—Grant by John Atte Gate of Charing, and Thomas Atte Welle of Stalisfield, to Deonis, the wife of Henry Atte Downe of Charing. Dec. 27th, 1384.

Two seals in black wax: (1) an N between two boughs of fir-tree; (2) a trefoil.

351.—Grant by William Atte Downe of Charing, to John Hendeman. Nov. 23d, 1390.

One seal in brown wax: an R between two boughs of fir-tree.

352.—Powers of attorney given by Robert Atte Reys of Charing, to his father Robert Atte Reys to give seisine. June 9th, 1401.

One seal in red wax: a crowned I between two boughs of fir-tree.

353.—Grant by John Hendeman of Maidstone, to Thomas Davy of West Malling. Oct. 9th, 1404.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

354.—Power of attorney given by John Seynteler of Rodmersham, William Barbour, Richard Seynteler of Faversham, William Chilton of Canterbury, Alexander Charleton of Pette near Charing, Thomas Atte

Gate and John Geoffrey of Charing, to Robert Atte Gate of Charing and James Hope, to give seisine. Aug. 1st, 1426.

Six seals in red wax: (1) a B crossed; (2) a crowned I; (3) a W crossed; (4) a G; (5) a hackle (?); (6) a crowned R.

355.—Grant by Roger Atte Reys, sen., late of Charing, to Hugh Brent of Canterbury and Cristine, his wife. Aug. 21st, 1426.

One seal in red wax: a pascal lamb contourné.

356.—Grant by Hugh Brent, Robert Legh and John Drawebregge of Charing, to Thomas Atte Reys and Jane his wife. Oct. 4th, 1439.

Three seals in red wax (imperfect).

357.—Grant by Thomas Herdres, esq., Symon Hanefeld and William Eyleford, to William Vydyan. Dec. 16th, 1440.

Three seals in red wax: (1) no impression; (2) and (3) a W.

358.—Grant by Robert Cherral of Charing and William Atte Herst of Westwell, to William Prat of Charing. Jan. 15th, 1441.

Two seals in red wax: (1) an R; (2) a cross.

359.—Grant by Richard Tube of Charing to William Ive of Charing. Aug. 1st, 1443.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

360.—Grant by James, son and heir of the late William Fuller of Charing to William Ive. Aug. 6th, 1443.

One seal in brown wax (defaced).

361.—Grant by William Ive, jun., of Charing, to William Beste of Egerton. Feb. 14th, 1449.

One seal in red wax: a crowned G.

CHESHAM (Co. Buckingham).

362.—Grant by John Gardner of Botteley in the parish of Chesham, to John Grate de Legh of Amersham, of various pieces of land in Chesham. Oct. 24th, 1450.

One seal in brown wax: barnacles (?).

CHARING (Co. Kent).

363.—Power of attorney given by Robert Cole of Stalisfield, to John Atte Reys of Charing, to give seisine. Oct. 4th, 1460.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

364.—Power of attorney given by Robert Brent to Arnold Hille and William Prat, to give seisine to Roger Brent, William Brent, John Wydeslade, jun., John Duke, Phillip Breche and Robert Cook, of various lands in Challock, New Church, Ivychurch, Rukinge, Greenhithe, Northend, and other places in Kent. Feb. 14th, 1461.

One seal in red wax (defaced).

365.—Grant by William Prat, to Thomas Hoorne, Richard Hoorne, Roger Brent, John Duke and Philipp Breche. May 4th, 1461.

Five seals in red wax: (1) imperfect; (2) missing; (3) a knot (?); (4) a W; (5) a B.

366.—Grant by William Prat to Thomas Hoorne, Richard Hoorne, Roger Brent, John Duke and Philippe Breche. May 4th, 1461. (Counter part of N° 365.)

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

367.—Grant by William Best of Egerton, to Thomas Carpynter of Charing. Jan. 10th, 1464.

One seal in brown wax: a crescent and star.

368.—Quitclaim by Isabella, widow of John Knyght, late of Charing, to Hugh Brent, John Taillour and John Paylcher. Nov. 3d, 1467.

One seal in brown wax: a D or a T.

369.—Power of attorney given by William Davyas to Hugh Mapyllysdene to give seisine. Nov. 16th, 1469.

One seal missing.

370.—Grant by William Davyas to Hugh Brent. Nov. 16th, 1469.

One seal in red wax (defaced).

371.—Grant by Stephen Rolynes of Charing to John Amorrey of Stalisfield. July 25th, 1471.

One seal missing.

372.—Grant by John Duke, sen., to Hugh Brent. March 6th, 1472.

One seal in brown wax (defaced).

373.—Quitclaim by John Duke, sen., to Hugh Brent. Aug. 12th, 1472.

One seal missing.

374.—Grant by Hugh Brent of Charing, to Thomas Huse, John Auger, William Heede, one of the clerks of the King's Chancery, William Ovington, John Duke, sen., and John Holstrete, of all his property in Charing and Stalisfield. Aug. 14th, 1472.

One seal in red wax (defaced).

CUXTON (Co. Kent).

375.—Grant by Henry Chambre of Cuxton, to John Hylles, John Magre and John Kynstare. Oct. 3d, 1477.

One seal in red wax: an I.

CHARING (Co. Kent).

376.—Grant by William Brent of Charing to Thomas Brent, clerk, John Fynenser, serjeant-at-law, Roger Brent, John Nethersole, John

Auger, Christopher Clynden, Richard Brent, Thomas Sander, William Ovington, Roger Peynde and John Duke, of his property in Pevington, Ripple, Charing, Egerton, Smarden, Westwell, Challock, Wye, Kennington, Boughton Aluph, Willesborough, Hinxhill, Lympne, Aldington, Boughton Malherb. Aug. 26th, 1486.

One seal missing.

377.—Grant by Thomas Snell of Charing and Richard Guerstede of Westwell to Roger Walyngham and William Ive, of lands in Pette near Charing and in Charing. Nov. 24th, 1491.

Seals missing.

378-384.—Seven deeds concerning the dependances in Charing of the mill in Egerton. Oct. 24th-Oct. 30th, 1529.

Each deed has a seal.

385.—Grant by Richard Luyllson, rector of Pevington, to Richard Baldocke, sen., of Egerton. May 14th, 1537.

One seal missing.

386.—Sale by Thomas Brent of Willesborough, esq., to Nicholas Gilborne of Charing. Nov. 14th, 1592.

One seal missing.

387.—A rental of the Manor of Charing. 1529-1630.

[R. 29091] 388-523 (30465, 30467, 34085, 34087-8, 34090-2, 34094, 34102, 34105-8, 34110, 34113, 34115, 34117).

A set of one hundred and thirty-six documents relating mostly to lands and persons in Willesborough in the County of Kent, viz.

[Latin MS. 266.]

WILLESBOROUGH (Co. Kent).

388.—Grant by Henry Rolf, son of John Rolf, to Robert de Wyvelysbergh [Willesborough] and Agnes his wife. 1316-7.

One seal missing.

389.—Grant by Juliana, the widow of Thomas Johan of Willesborough, to John de Colerne. June 9th, 1331.

One seal in brown wax: a peacock close contourné and a star. S. HENRI . FERE.

390.—Grant by John Bolle of Willesborough, to Jane and Agnes, daughters of William Cosin. Oct. 6th, 1337.

One seal missing.

391.—Grant by Symon, son of William de Wyvelsbergh, to John de Wyvelsbergh, clerk. May 14th, 1347.

One seal missing.

392.—Grant by Thomas Mersshere to William Serlis. Sept. 12th, 1349.

One seal missing.

393.—Grant by Hugh Le Whyte of Willesborough to Thomas de Wyvelsbergh. May 31st, 1353.

One seal in red wax (imperfect): . . . WARE . . .

394.—Grant by William, son of Symon de Halle, of Willesborough, to Thomas de Wyvelesbergh. Aug. 28th, 1355.

One seal in red wax: a branch of holly (?) . . . N . RAD . WARE.

395.—Grant by William Sprote of Willesborough, to John Clerke of Sellinge. Jan. 6th, 1357.

One seal in red wax (defaced).

396.—Grant by William Trippe of Wilmington and Agnes, his wife, to John Serles and Simon Serles of Willesborough, of some land in Boughton Aluph in exchange of lands in Willesborough. Oct. 4th, 1357.

Two seals missing.

397.—Grant by William, son of Thomas de Langebrugge (Longbridge), of Willesborough, to William de Langebrugge, bachelor, his uncle. Nov. 1st, 1358.

One seal in red wax: a shield (defaced).

398.—Grant by Thomas de Wyvelesberghe to Bartholomew Ferour, chaplain, Thomas Elys of Kennington, William Elys, Thomas Galfier of Ombyrle (?) and John Brode of Mersham, of lands in Willesborough, Ashford, Sevington, and Hinxhill. Aug. 9th, 1361.

One seal in red wax: a shield with two C's interwoven (?)

399.—Grant by Thomas Taylur of Kingsnorth, to John Mahewe Taylur of Willesborough. May 13th, 1362.

One seal in black wax: a shield (defaced).

400.—Grant by Christina, the daughter of William Sprote of Willesborough, to William Chapman of Willesborough. July 5th, 1363.

One seal in red wax: a man with a dog begging from a woman (?)

HINXHILL (Co. Kent).

401.—Grant by Reginald Waltier of Hinxhill, to William Elys of Hinxhill and William de Bromlegh. Nov. 13th, 1364.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

WILLESBOROUGH (Co. Kent).

402.—Grant by William Mahewe of Willesborough, to William Chapman. July 7th, 1365.

One seal in red wax: a paschal lamb.

403.—Grant by John Rolf of Willesborough, to John Picher. March 20th, 1366.

One seal in green wax (imperfect).

404.—Grant by Celestina, the daughter of Hughon Whyte of Willesborough, to William Elys of Willesborough, of a rent on the mill. Oct. 6th, 1366.

One seal in red wax (defaced).

405.—Grant by Symon Welle of Willesborough, to William Elys. May 16th, 1367.

One seal missing.

406.—Grant by Thomas and William Sprot to William Maheu Mellere of Willesborough. Sept. 8th, 1368.

One seal in white wax (defaced).

407.—Grant by Daniel de Halle, of Willesborough, to William Chapman and Alicia, his wife. Feb. 8th, 1370.

One seal in red wax: no impression.

408.—Grant by Daniel de Halle of Willesborough, to William Elys. April 2d, 1370.

One seal in red wax: a rose (?).

409.—Grant by Geoffrey and John Sprot, of Willesborough, to William Elys. Oct. 20th, 1370.

Two seals in red wax: (1) A stag's head with a cross between the horns; (2) A pascal lamb.

410.—Grant by Alicia Poynont of Willesborough, to William Elys. April 4th, 1372.

One seal in red wax: (defaced).

411.—Grant by Roger Yxnynge of Willesborough, to William Elys. April 10th, 1372.

One seal in red wax (defaced).

412.—Grant by Alicia, widow of William Hwyteby of Willesborough, to William Elys. Nov. 1st, 1372.

One seal in red wax (defaced).

413.—Grant by Daniel de Halle of Willesborough to William Elys. March 6th, 1373.

One seal missing.

414.—An agreement between William Elys of Willesborough, on one side, and Daniel and John de Halle, of the other. Dec. 1st, 1373.

One seal missing.

415.—Grant by Thomas, the son of Robert Paynont of Willesborough, to William Elys. Jan. 30th, 1374.

One seal in red wax (defaced).

416.—Grant by Geoffrey and John Sprot of Willesborough, to William Chapman of Willesborough. April 6th, 1374.

Two seals in brown wax: (1) a peacock contourné and a cross; (2) defaced.

417.—Grant by Richard Pottack of Hinxhill to William Elys. Sept. 22d, 1375.

One seal missing.

418.—Grant by Thomas Ate Berghe to William Chapman. Thursday bef. ? day, 1378.

One seal in brown wax (defaced).

419.—Grant by Robert Serlys of Willesborough, to John Michel and Jane his wife. June 25th, 1378.

One seal in brown wax: a T.

WINCHELSEA (Co. Sussex).

420.—Grant by Henry Fynch of Winchelsea, to William Moreson of Winchelsea, of a piece of land in the parish of St. Thomas. Dec. 25th, 1378.

One seal missing.

WILLESBOROUGH (Co. Kent).

421.—Grant by Robert Elham, vicar of Willesborough, Thomas Elys of Kennington, John Brode of Mersham, William Brode of Mersham and William Egethorne of Willesborough, to John Bolle of Willesborough. June 19th, 1379.

Five seals. (1) and (2) in brown wax (imperfect); (3) missing; (4) in white wax (defaced); (5) in white wax (imperfect): a W.

422.—Quitclaim by Mathilda Meyhu of Willesborough, to Thomas Girdle of Willesborough. Nov. 7th, 1379.

One seal in black wax (imperfect).

423.—Grant by Roger Eynynge of Willesborough, to John Serles of Willesborough. July 18th, 1380.

One seal missing.

424.—Grant by William Chapman of Willesborough, to John Heldeman of Willesborough. June 29th, 1381.

One seal in brown wax: a W.

425.—Quitclaim by Mathilda Poddes, daughter of John Podd of Willesborough, to John Bayly. June 5th, 1382.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

426.—Grant by Alicia, widow of Robert Serlis of Willesborough, to John Michel of Willesborough. June 15th, 1385.

One seal missing.

SWANSCOMBE (Co. Kent).

427.—Power of attorney given by Peter Atte Hatthe and Lucy, his wife, to John Bonhomme and John Coleman, to receive seisin of land in Swanscombe. June 21st, 1385.

Two seals in red wax: (1) missing; (2) an L (?) between two boughs of fir-tree.

WILLESBOROUGH (Co. Kent).

428.—Grant by William Chapman of Willesborough, to his son William and Jane, the latter's wife, of his lands and rents in Sevington and Willesborough. Jan. 7th, 1387.

One seal in brown wax (imperfect): an M with a cross . SIG . WILLM. . . .

429.—Grant by John Bayly of Willesborough, to Roger Yxnynge and Thomas Steyham of Willesborough. April 21st, 1387.

One seal in brown wax: a W.

430.—Grant by John Mogge of Willesborough, to John Cole of Willesborough. Oct. 13th, 1390.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

431.—Grant by Robert Jan de Hyanewode in the parish of Willesborough, to Thomas Sandre of Kennington. June 21st, 1391.

One seal missing.

432.—Grant by John Egethorne of Willesborough, to Thomas Stayhame of Willesborough. Nov. 10th, 1391.

One seal missing.

433.—Grant by Robert Jan de Hyanewode in Willesborough, to Thomas Sandre of Kennington. Nov. 4th, 1392.

One seal in red wax: IHG under a crown (?).

434.—Grant by John Sod of Willesboroug, to Thomas Sandre of Kennington. July 8th, 1393.

One seal in brown wax (imperfect).

435.—Quitclaim by Thomas Stayhame and Roger Yxninge of Willesborough, to John Baylly of Willesborough. April 7th, 1398.

One seal missing.

436.—Grant by Thomas Sprot of Hinxhill, to John Baylly of Willesborough. Oct. 13th, 1398.

One seal in brown wax imperfect: a rose (?).

437.—Grant by John Baylly de Heanwode in Willesborough, to William Hamon of Willesborough. Nov. 30th, 1398.

One seal missing.

438.—Grant by William Ouyrhenene to Thomas Sandre of Kennington. March 10th, 1399.

One seal in red wax: ◎.

439.—Grant by Petronilla, daughter of John Brombard of Willesborough, to William Carry, vicar of Willesborough, and William Stowre. July 20th, 1404.

One seal missing.

440.—Grant by William Carry, clerk, and Thomas Chapman of Willesborough, to Thomas Cook of Willesborough. May 16th, 1406.

Two seals: (1) red wax: a finger print; (2) missing.

441.—Grant by Robert Geoffrey of Willesborough to John Reade of Willesborough. Aug. 7th, 1404.

One seal missing.

442.—Grant by John Reade of Willesborough, to Thomas Serlys of Willesborough. Sept. 23d, 1409.

One seal missing.

443.—Grant by Eudo de Valoynes of Godmersham, to Thomas Elys of Kennington. Jan. 20th, 1410.

One seal in red wax: a shield couché (defaced), crest: a horse head. PECI . . . LAV . ES.

444.—Grant by John Sextayn and William Horslake of Canterbury, to John Mychell of Willesborough. Nov. 20th, 1410.

Two seals in red wax: (1) a shield bearing a saltire; crest: a cross. (2) W H under a crown.

445.—Grant by Thomas Sprot of Willesborough, to John Cole of Willesborough. May 29th, 1412.

One seal in red wax: a shield: a cross indented impaled on a field fretty.

446.—Grant by William Hermer and Roger de Gore to John Perys and John Brombard of Willesborough. Jan. 30th, 1413.

Two seals in white wax: an H (?); (2) missing.

447.—Grant by Robert Geffray of Willesborough, to William Geffray, John Perys and John Hayron of Willesborough, of land in Willesborough and Mersham. Apr. 24th, 1413.

One seal in white wax (defaced).

448.—Grant by John Heldeman of Willesborough, to John Michel of Willesborough. Feb. 5th, 1414.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

449.—Grant by Thomas Chapman and Thomas Serles of Willesborough, to Richard Cartere of Willesborough. Sept. 28th, 1416.

One seal in brown wax: a compass and a rule.

450.—Grant by Thomas Leserene of Willesborough to Thomas Atte Wode of Willesborough. Apr. 7th, 1417.

One seal missing.

451.—Grant by Richard Warwell of Seynton [Seaton in Boughton Aluph (?)] and Roger Gore of Willesborough, to John Hayron of Willesborough. May 27th, 1417.

Two seals in brown wax: (1) a W; (2) an R.

452.—Power of attorney given by Simon Tuk to Alexander Geloyng (?), to give seisine of lands. Oct. 15th, 1420.

One seal missing.

453.—Grant by John Saundre of Postling and William Stour of Willesborough to Thomas Sprot of Willesborough. Nov. 23d, 1420.

Two seals missing.

454.—Grant by John Baylli of Willesborough to Thomas Serles and Richard Carter of Willesborough. Oct. 31st, 1421.

One seal missing.

455.—Grant by Thomas Gore and William Lucas of Ashford, to Thomas Serlys of Willesborough. Dec. 25th, 1421.

Two seals in brown wax: (1) a crowned W; (2) a crowned T.

456.—Quitclaim by John Reygate of Sturry, to John Heyron of Willesborough. Sept. 30th, 1425.

One seal missing.

457.—Grant by Wlliam Stoure of Willesborough to William Poossche of Barham. Feb. 3d, 1426.

One seal in red wax: a woman kneeling before the Virgin and Child.

458.—Grant by William Posshe of Barham, to Thomas Chapman of Willesborough. March 10th, 1427.

One seal in red wax: an R (?)

459.—Grant by Thomas Poynaunt of Willesborough, to Thomas Chapman, sen., of Willesborough. March 29th, 1428.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

460.—Grant by Cecilia Borneman of Willesborough, to John Brewar and Jane, his wife, of Willesborough. Sept. 21st, 1432.

One seal in red wax (defaced).

461.—Grant by William Berdes of Kennington, to Richard Payn, of lands in Willesborough and Hinxhill. Apr. 22d, 1433.

One seal in red wax: a fish hauriant.

462.—Grant by William Barry, clerk, of Willesborough, to Thomas Chapman of Willesborough. June 25th, 1433.

One seal in red wax: a rose.

463.—Grant by Robert Sprot of Canterbury, to Richard Borneman of Willesborough. Dec. 19th, 1435.

One seal missing.

464.—Grant by John Hayron of Ashford, to William Maas of Ashford and Richard Rose of Willesborough, of his lands in Ashford and Willesborough. June 25th, 1436.

One seal in red wax: a crowned A.

465.—Grant by Thomas Chapman of Willesborough, to Thomas Wodeford of Willesborough. Oct. 5th, 1436.

One seal in red wax: a rose.

466.—Grant by William Champeneys of Willesborough, to Thomas Gore of Willesborough. Nov. 29th, 1436.

One seal missing.

467.—Grant by John Henwode of Willesborough and William Bergh, jun., of Great Chart, to John de Gothle of Ashford and John Croucheman of Willesborough Feb. 2d. 1438 (a contemporary transcript).

468.—Grant by William Saundre, clerk, to Thomas Chapman of Willesborough, Thomas, the latter's son, and William Saundre, son of the late John Saundre of Kennington, of lands in Kennington and Willesborough. March 30th, 1439.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

469.—Grant by Thomas Frevyll of Willesborough, to Thomas Frevyll, jun., of Willesborough and John Sandre of Aldington. July 3d, 1440.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

470.—Grant by Thomas Grangeman to Richard Bolcomps of Westwell and John Smyth of Willesborough. Jan. 12th, 1441.

Seal in brown wax: a cross lorrain.

471.—Grant by Thomas Halle of Willesborough, to Thomas Chapman of Willesborough. Apr. 13th, 1441.

One seal missing.

472.—Grant by Thomas Lechour of Willesborough to John Gotswyne, William Gesore and William Hogge. Apr. 30th, 1441.

One seal in brown wax (defaced).

473.—Quitclaim by Thomas Colyere of Mersham, to John Geffray of Willesborough. Oct. 10th, 1442.

One seal in brown wax: an A.

474.—Grant by Thomas Goore of Willesborough, to Thomas Bakere of Willesborough. Feb. 23d, 1444.

One seal in red wax (defaced).

475.—Quitclaim by Thomas, Guy, Richard and John Elys, sons and heirs of Thomas Elys, late of Kennington, to Thomas Wodeforde. Sept. 27th, 1444.

Four seals in red wax: (1) a crowned I; (2) defaced; (3) a crowned W; (4) (imperfect).

476.—Grant by Richard Rotyng of Kennington, to William Michel of Willesborough, of lands in Willesborough and Hinxhill. Sept. 29th, 1448.

One seal in brown wax (imperfect).

477.—Grant by Henry Jankyn of Willesborough, to John Saundre and Richard Bourneman. Aug. 28th, 1449.

One seal in red wax (defaced).

478.—Grant by Peter Kenet of Willesborough, to William Assheherst of Ashford. Apr. 12th, 1451.

One seal in red wax: WI.

479.—Grant by John Sandre of Gylsyngton (Islington?), to Richard Reynold of Willesborough. May 27th, 1451.

One seal in brown wax: a crowned R.

480.—Grant by Thomas Gore and Thomas Atte Welle of Willesborough, to Guy Elys, John Chapman, and Thomas Wodeforde. Sept. 21st, 1452.

Two seals missing.

481.—Grant by Guy Elys, John Chapman and Thomas Wodeforde of Willesborough, to William Fox of Mersham. Oct. 20th, 1453.

Three seals in brown wax: (1) defaced; (2) a boar's head; (3) imperfect.

482.—Counter-part of No. 481.

One seal in brown wax (imperfect).

483.—Grant by John Smyth of Willesborough and Thomas Porot of Hinxhill, to Richard Reynold and John Wyvelesherwgh of Willesborough, of lands in Willesborough and Hinxhill. Apr. 6th, 1455.

Two seals missing.

484.—Grant by Michael Sandir of Kennington to William Michell of Willesborough. Jan. 6th, 1456.

One seal missing.

485.—Grant by John Russell of Henxhill and William Brokman of Lyminge, to Thomas Bakere of Willesborough. Sept. 10th, 1457.

Two seals in red wax: (1) a fern (?); (2) defaced.

486.—Grant by Agnes Pergate of Ashford, to William Egerynden, William Ate Welle and Richard Bourneman of Ashford. Jan. 15th, 1459.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

487.—Quitclaim by William Hermer, late of Willesborough and now of the House of St. Bartholomew near Sandwich, Thomas Bray, Thomas Baker and William Halle of Willesborough, to William Michell of Willesborough. Nov. 30th, 1461.

Four seals in red wax: (1) defaced; (2) an I; (3) defaced; (4) an R.

488.—Grant by William Hermer of Willesborough, to Thomas Baker, William Halle, Thomas Bray and William Michell. Sept. 12th, 1461.

One seal missing.

489.—Grant by Thomas Ate Welle of Willesborough, to William Michell of Willesborough. Feb. 6th, 1463.

One seal in brown wax (imperfect).

490.—Grant by John Purdon of Willesborough, to Thomas Pierys of Willesborough. Aug. 5th, 1464.

One seal in red wax: an R.

491.—Grant by Richard Bourneman of Willesborough, to Thomas Gore and Henry Champeneys of Willesborough. Oct. 1st, 1464.

One seal in red wax: a J.

492.—Quitclaim by Thomas Bray and William Michell of Willesborough, to Thomas Baker of Willesborough. March 31st, 1465.

Two seals in black wax (imperfect).

493.—Exchange of lands between Thomas Chapman of Milton, late of Willesborough, on one side, and Thomas Gore and Thomas Carter of Willesborough, on the other. May 12th, 1465.

One seal in red wax (defaced).

494.—Quitclaim by John Sprot, sen., of Willesborough, to Thomas Atte Welle of Willesborough. Jan. 10th, 1469.

One seal in red wax (defaced).

495.—Power of attorney given by William Fox of Mersham, to Thomas Carter of Willesborough, to give seisine of lands. Jan. 12th, 1470.

One seal in brown wax: a spread eagle.

496.—Quitclaim by Thomas Crowthe of Great Chart and Stephen Poynont of Willesborough, to John Sprot, sen., of Willesborough. Jan. 4th, 1472.

Two seals missing.

497.—Grant by William, son of William Hermer, late of Willesborough, to Thomas Kynton of Willesborough. May 1st, 1473.

One seal missing.

498.—Quitclaim by Henry and Nicholas Kenet of Ashford, to William Prent, gent. Jan. 20th, 1475.

Two seals: (1) missing; (2) in red wax: a crowned N.

499.—Grant and quitclaim by Roger and William Thesor, sons of Thomas Thesor of Hinxhill, to William Prent, gent., Thomas Gore and Thomas Carter of Willesborough. Oct. 16th, 1476.

Two seals in red wax: (1) a peacock close (?); (2) imperfect.

500.—Grant by John Tylden of Willesborough, to William Michell of Willesborough. Apr. 30th, 1481.

One seal in brown wax: an I.

501.—Grant by Simon Wodehows of Willesborough, to Nicholas May and Alicia his wife, of Willesborough. May 8th, 1482.

One seal missing.

502.—Grant by Richard Bowreman of Ashford, to John, son of Thomas Gore of Willesborough, John Tylden of Willesborough and Mark Salomon of Ashford. May 15th, 1486.

One seal missing.

503.—Quitclaim by Thomas Gore to Robert Brent. Nov. 18th, 1486.

One seal in brown wax (defaced).

504.—Grant by Thomas Carter of Willesborough, to Thomas Baker of Willesborough. Oct. 20th, 1487.

One seal missing.

505.—Quitclaim by John Egerden, one of the sons of William Egerden late of Willesborough, to Thomas Egerden, his brother. Dec. 22d, 1491.

One seal in red wax: a D.

506.—Grant by William Brent, son and heir of the late Robert Brent, to Richard Guildford, knt., Edward Guildford, esq., Henry Hoorne, esq., Lewis Clyfford, esq., Thomas Hant, esq., William Crowmer, esq., John Bourne, Gervase Hoorne and Margaret Hoorne, the daughter of Henry Hoorne, esq. Sept. 9th, 1486.

One seal missing.

507.—Grant by John Stede of Hinxhill, Robert Gaate and Richard Poynant of Willesborough, to John Gore of Willesborough. May 14th, 1499.

Three seals missing.

508.—Grant by John Gore of Willesborough, to John Lucas of Ashford. Aug. 31st, 1504.

One seal in red wax (defaced).

509.—Grant by William Atte Welle of Smarden, to Richard Wodeward of Ashford, William Wodeward of Great Chart, Edward Michell of Ashford, Richard Master and Robert Sprotte of Willesborough. Jan. 6th, 1510.

One seal missing.

510.—Conveyance by John Drane of Pluckley, gent., to Edward Whyte of Ashford. Oct. 25th, 1540.

One seal in red wax: a runner.

511.—Grant in Gavelkind by Thomas Hall, the son of the late Robert Hall of Willesborough, to Robert Maister and William Hall of Willesborough. Jan. 5th, 1542.

One seal missing.

512.—Obligation of John Carter of Willesborough, to Robert Brent of Willesborough for the sum of £20. June 30th, 1542.

One seal in brown wax (imperfect).

513.—Presentation of John Hall to the living of Willesborough by the Dean and Chapter of Rochester. July 31st, 1554.

One seal missing.

514.—Grant by Paul Hart of Pluckley, to William Hall of Willesborough. July 12th, 1555.

One seal missing.

515.—Quitclaim by Robert Master and William Hall of Willesborough, to William Hall, jun., one of the sons of Robert Hall, late of Willesborough. Feb. 10th, 1557.

Two seals missing.

516.—Obligation of Thomas Moone of Hinxhill, husbandman, to William Hall, jun., of Willesborough, yeoman, for 100 marcs. Jan. 14th, 1562.

One seal in red wax: W.H.

517.—Quitclaim by Paul Hart of Pluckley, to William Hall, jun., of Willesborough. Sept. 26th, 1562.

One seal in red wax: an animal (defaced).

518.—Grant by Laurence Busheman of Hothfield, to Gregory Hall and Robert Hall of Willesborough. June 1st, 1566.

One seal missing.

519.—An agreement between William Hall of Longbridge in the parish of Willesborough and Laurence Busheman of Hothfield. June 5th, 1566.

One seal missing.

520.—Quitclaim by John Sharp, sen., of Westwell, to Robert and Gregory Hall of Willesborough. Oct. 14th, 1574.

One seal in brown wax (defaced).

521.—Quitclaim by William Carter of Willesborough, to Thomas Brent, Esq. May 16th, 1577.

One seal in brown wax (defaced).

522.—Quitclaim by Robert Hall to Gregory Hall. Dec. 31st, 1577.

One seal missing.

523.—An agreement between Gilbert Gardener of Hinxhill and Thomas Brent, Esq., of Willesborough. Aug. 8th, 1584.

One seal in brown wax (defaced).

STILTON (Co. Huntingdon).

[R. 29863] 524-561 (30281, 30459, 34861-3). A collection of thirty-eight documents relating to lands and persons in Stilton in the county of Huntingdon. This collection, which formed lot 563 at the Phillipp's sale of April 26th, 1911, contained at the time of the sale 42 items. When the collection was bought from Mr. Barnard it contained only the following documents, viz.:

524.—Grant by Richard de Hemingtone to Robert Le Chambeleyn of Stilton and Mary, his wife. Oct. 30th, 1330.

One seal in black wax: a squirrel passant.

525.—Grant by John, son of John Engayne of Stilton, to John de Fodderyngeye of Folksworth and Agnes, his wife. Apr. 25th, 1339.

One seal missing.

526.—Quitclaim by John de Yakesleye [Yaxley] to John Belle of Yaxley. July 10th, 1342.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

527.—Grant by John Engayne of Stilton, to John Fodderyngeye of Folksworth. Dec. 27th, 1355.

One seal in red wax: a rose (?)

528.—Grant by John Deneford of Stilton, to John Belle of Yaxley. May 29th, 1356.

One seal in red wax: the sails of wind mill.

529.—Grant by John Engayne of Stilton, to John Belle of Yaxley. June 26th, 1356.

One seal missing.

530.—Grant by John Engayne of Stilton, to John Belle of Yaxley. Apr. 23d, 1357.

One seal missing.

531.—Grant by John Caynho of Stilton, to Peter Boughton, knt., John Boughton, knt., Robert Rokston, John Adamson of Stilton, John Cartere of Stilton and William Stayngerne. Apr. 10th, 1401.

One seal in red wax: an A.

532.—Quitclaim by Katherine, widow of Richard Kayno of Stilton, to John Belle of Stilton. Oct. 20th, 1402 (contemporary transcript on paper).

533.—Obligation of Richard Kaynowe of Stilton, son and heir of Robert Kaynowe, to John Belle of Yaxley, for the sum of £40. March 29th, 1410.

Seal in red wax: an R.

534.—Grant by John Carter of Stilton and William Stretton of Connington, to Richard Kaynowe, son of Robert Kaynowe. Apr. 2d, 1410.

Two seals in red wax: (1) an I between a crescent and a star and surmounted by the monogram IHS; (2) a crowned W.

535.—Quitclaim by the same John Carter and William Stretton to the same Richard Kaynowe. Apr. 14th, 1410.

Two seals: (1) missing; (2) a W (imperfect).

536.—Grant by the same John Cartere and William Strattone, to John Langevile, clerk, John Belle and Robert Hunt. Apr. 27th, 1410.

Two seals in red wax (defaced).

537.—Grant by Richard Kaynowe to Hugh Mortymer, esq., John Langvyle, clerk, John Belle of Yaxley and Robert Hunte. Apr. 28th, 1410.

One seal in red wax: a crowned W.

538.—Grant by Alicia, widow of Robert Caynho of Stilton, to John Belle of Yaxley. June 30th, 1410.

One seal in red wax: a shield bearing a bend between a St. Andrew's cross and ?; SI . JOHANNI DRIPULI.

539.—Power of attorney given by Simon Charwalton, clerk, Ralph Bateman and John Fithion, to Thomas Gyllie to give seisine of land. Sept. 22d, 1414.

One seal in red wax: a monk kneeling before St. Catherine, PRO MEO . . . TVOS VA.

540.—Grant by Richard, son of Richard de Hemyngtone, to Ralph Bateman, Symon Charwalton and John Fithion. Oct. 13th, 1414.

One seal in red wax: an eagle displayed (?).

541.—Power of attorney given by Ralph Bateman, Symon Charwalton and John Fithion, to William Bernewell and William Clotton to receive seisine of land. Oct. 28th, 1414.

Three seals: (1) in red wax: JB; (2) in red wax: NL; (3) missing.

542.—Grant by John Baker of Newark, son of the late John Baker of Stilton, to Richard Frost of Stilton. Jan. 14th, 1425.

One seal in red wax: a crowned B.

543.—An agreement between Thomas Eland, esq., on one side, and John Sanky, esq., and Agnes, his wife, on the other. June 25th, 1432.

One seal in red wax: T (?).

544.—Quitclaim by William Byshop of Glatton and Katherine, his wife, to Agnes, widow of John Sanky of Stilton. Dec. 2d, 1437.

Two seals in red wax: (1) R; (2) a rose (?).

545.—Quitclaim by Thomas Melton, late of Stilton, to Agnes Sanky and William Coper of Yaxley. May 6th, 1438.

One seal in brown wax: a saltire.

546.—Grant by John Foderyngay, late of Folkesworth, to Richard Frost of Stilton. Dec. 6th, 1438.

One seal in brown wax: JF.

547.—Grant by Thomas Perkare of Stamford and Jane Perkare, his sister, to Richard Frost of Stilton. Dec. 29th, 1441.

One seal in red wax: a crowned R.

548.—Quitclaim by Thomas Twyere, late rector of Glatton, William Clotton of Yaxley, Robert Boteler of Ellington and Richard Frost of Stilton, to Agnes Sanky, widow of John Sanky of Stilton. Dec. 18th, 1443.

Three seals in red wax: (1) R; (2) a leaf; (3) a crowned R.

549.—Grant by Agnes Sanky, widow of John Sanky of Stilton, esq., to Ralph Cromwell, knt., William Brewster, clerk of the Royal Kitchen, Thomas Twyere, chaplain, John Mone, esq., Lionel Lowther, Robert Butteler of Ellington, Richard Froste of Stilton, and William Cowper of Yaxley. Dec. 19th, 1443.

One seal in red wax: a crowned R.

550.—Quitclaim by Jane, wife of William Sutton of Stamford and daughter of John Baker, late of Stilton, to Richard Frost of Stilton. Nov. 8th, 1444.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

551.—Grant by Richard Frost of Stilton, to Alicia Frost, his wife. and William Frost. Jan. 8th, 1452.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

552.—Power of attorney given by Ralph Boteler, knt., Georges Danyell, esq., and Roger Whytton, esq., to Richard Lowe and William Weston. Dec. 22d, 1458.

Three seals in red wax: (1) a horse's head couped and bridled; (2) T (?); (3) imperfect.

553.—An agreement between Alicia, widow of Richard Frost of Stilton, and William Frost, her son, on one side, and John Baker of Stilton, on the other part. Nov. 30th, 1467.

One seal missing.

554.—Grant by William Frost to John Dobyn of Stilton, Edmund Dobyn of Connington, clerk, and Hubert Nuell of Stilton. Sept. 26th, 1474.

One seal in red wax: a T (?).

555.—Power of Attorney given by Laurence Nuell, son and heir of Hubert Nuell, late of Stilton, to William Sanyth to receive seisine of lands. March 26th, 1489.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

556.—Quitclaim by Richard Smyth, sen., Richard Smyth, jun., and John Smyth, sons of the late Thomas Smyth of Stilton, to Laurence Worms. Nov. 25th, 1521. Attached to the deed in a survey of the lands.

Three seals in red wax: (1) a scythe; (2) a crowned H; (3) a shield of arms: a fesse embattled between three martlets.

557.—Quitclaim by Richard Smythe of Stilton, yeoman, to Henry Gayll, Nicholas Claybroke, John Marke, John Smythe, John Manyng, William Baker, Robert Wytsson, Thomas Rodberne, John [Carlell], Robbarts Swaine, John Asthewe, John Redhed, John Colman, Robbarts Lyyn, Nicholas Brown, John Mark, jun., Richard Smythe, jun., and Robartts Schevyn of Stilton. March 2d, 1522.

One seal missing.

558.—Quitclaim by Henry Gayll, Nicholas Claybroke, John Mark, John Smyth, John Manyng, John Colman, William Baker, Robartts Wytson, Thomas Radborne, John Carlell, Robartts Swan, John Asthekew, John Redhed, Robartts Lyyne, William Browyn, John Mark, jun., Richard Smyth, jun., and Robartts Schevyn of Stilton, to John Yngrame of Stilton. March 2d, 1522.

Seven seals in green wax: (1) a triangle and cross; (2) IHS; (3) (4) defaced; (5) R; (6) a saltire; (7) a saltire.

559.—Obligation of John Ingrame of Stilton, to Laurence Worme of Peterborough, for the sum of 20 marcs. Feb. 28th, 1523.

One seal in red wax: I.G.

560.—Quitclaim by John Ingrame of Stilton, an executor of the will of the late John Raynold of Stilton, to Laurence Worme of Peterborough. Feb. 28th, 1523.

One seal in red wax (imperfect).

561.—Quitclaim by John Ingrame of Stilton, yeoman, to Laurence Worme of Peterborough. Feb. 28th, 1523.

One seal missing.